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THE
PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER:

OR,

HISTORY

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

OF

IRELAND,

The FIFTH SESSION of the FIFTH PARLIAMENT,
in the Reign of his PRESENT MAJESTY;

Which met at DUBLIN on the 21st of JANUARY, and ended
the 25th of MARCH, 1794.

VOL. XIV.

DUBLIN:

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M,DCC,XCV.



THE
N A M E S
OF THE
KNIGHTS, CITIZENS and BURGESSES,
RETURNED TO SERVE IN THE
PRESENT PARLIAMENT,
WITH THE
PLACES THEY REPRESENT.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS.

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THE
PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER:
OR,
HISTORY
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES
OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1794.

THE Usher of the Black Rod having summoned the House to attend his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant in the House of Peers, and being returned therefrom,

The Speaker reported, that the House had attended his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant in the House of Peers, where his Excellency was pleased to make a speech to both Houses of Parliament, of which he read a copy, as follows:

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I have his Majesty's commands to meet you in Parliament.

" You must have felt, with the highest satisfaction, that by the success of his Majesty's arms and those of his allies, the hopes of France, in their unprovoked declaration of war, to impair the stability or shake the constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, have been utterly disappointed.

" The forces of his Majesty and his allies are in possession of many important fortresses which belonged to the French, and

many of their oppressive and unjust conquests have been wrested from them ; and while the trade of the empire has been generally protected, the resources which our enemies derived from their wealthy settlements and extensive commerce have been almost entirely cut off.

" I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that the spirit of insurrection which was for some time prevalent among the lower orders of the people, is in general suppressed. No exertion shall be wanting on my part to bring them to a due sense of order and subordination, and to prevent and punish the machinations of those who may aim to seduce them from their accustomed loyalty into acts of sedition and outrage.

" The law for rendering a militia in this kingdom effectual has been carried successfully into execution ; and I am happy to find that the people are at length fully reconciled to this institution, which has already been attended by the most beneficial consequences, in producing internal tranquillity, and contributing to the general strength and force of the empire.

" I am commanded to acquaint you that his Majesty has appointed a commission, under the great seal, to execute the office of Lord High Treasurer of this kingdom, in order that the payment of the civil list granted to his Majesty, and a regular appropriation of the revenue to distinct services, may be carried into execution in a manner as conformable to the practice of Great Britain as the relative situation of this kingdom will permit.

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I have ordered the national accounts to be laid before you, as well as estimates for the service of the ensuing year. It is painful to me to observe that the exigencies of the times will require a large supply and additional resources ; but when you consider that this is a war of absolute necessity, and that you are contending for your liberty, property and religion, I doubt not that you will cheerfully contribute to support the honour of his Majesty's crown, and the essential interests of the kingdom.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The agriculture, the manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture of Ireland, the Protestant charter schools, and various other institutions of public utility, have so constantly received the benefit of your care and liberality, that I need not particularly at this time, inculcate their importance.

" His Majesty has the fullest reliance upon the loyalty and attachment of his people of Ireland : You are now, by the unjust aggression of France, involved in a contest for your religion, for your constitution, and for the preservation of every principle which upholds social order, or gives security to your persons or

properties. In such a cause, his Majesty has no doubt of being cordially supported by the efforts of all his subjects, in resisting the desperate designs of men who are endeavouring to erect their own power and dominion on the ruins of law and order, and to involve every government of Europe in a general scene of confusion and anarchy.

“ His Majesty’s object is peace, and he will exert himself, in conjunction with his allies, whenever an occasion shall present itself, for obtaining this desirable end, without surrendering the honour of his crown, or sacrificing the present or future security of his people and of the rest of Europe.

“ You may depend upon my faithful representations of your services to his Majesty, and I will zealously co-operate with your exertions for the welfare and prosperity of Ireland.”

Lord BOYLE rose to move an address to his Majesty. He dwelt for some time on the blessings we derive under our excellent constitution, and that we were particularly called upon at this time to use every exertion in our power to defend and support every thing that was dear to us; and though there might be some difference of opinion on other points between gentlemen in that House, yet he was confident that there would be but one opinion in a determined resolution to defend and maintain our liberties and our constitution.—He then moved that an address be presented to his Majesty.

The Hon. Mr. WANDESFORD BUTLER seconded the motion for the address.

Mr. GRATTAN said, he did not wish by any means to go at length into the various points stated in the address. It was difficult to say much, and it would be improper not to say something. He said he had invariably entertained but one opinion, and that was, to stand with Great Britain, and the points he had constantly in view were to improve and reform the constitution, to assimilate our constitution to that of Great Britain, and to correct whatever defects there might be in it. He should not by any means go at present into the causes of the war, but he wished it had been more successful; he said it was the interest of this country to stand with Great Britain; even if the war was more unsuccessful, we were called upon to assist her. In the seven years German war this country assisted Great Britain in proportion to her ability, and at that time this country could be scarcely said to have a constitution of her own; and now that we are in possession of constitutional advantages, he was certain it would not be dead and languid in affording her assistance. He said, though he differed from many gentlemen in not approving the conduct of Lord Westmoreland’s administration, and though he

often condemned the measures supported by the servants of the crown, yet there was one great general principle which he wished to impress on the House, which was, to preserve our connection with Great Britain.

After a few words from Mr. Vandeleur, Colonel Blaquier, and Mr. Tighe, jun. the motion passed *nem. con.* and a committee was appointed to prepare and draw up the address, and report the same to-morrow.

The Hon. Mr. FOSTER moved that an address be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, for his speech from the throne; which was seconded by the Hon. Mr. Clotworthy Taylor, and agreed to, and a committee appointed to prepare and draw up the same; and to report to-morrow.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1794.

Lord BOYLE reported from the committee appointed to draw up an address to his Majesty, that they had drawn up an address accordingly; which he read in his place, as follows:

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY;

The humble ADDRESS of the KNIGHTS, CITIZENS and BURGESSES, in Parliament assembled.

" Most gracious Sovereign,

" We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your Majesty with the warmest assurances of our affection and loyalty, and with the most cordial attachment to your Majesty's person, family and government.

" We feel, with sensible satisfaction, that the vain hope of shaking the stability of your Majesty's throne, or weakening the security of our happy constitution, which seems to have animated the French, in their unprovoked declaration of war, has entirely failed.

" We beg leave to congratulate your Majesty, that not only many of the unjust and oppressive conquests of the French have been wrested from them, but that the forces of your Majesty and of your allies are in possession of many important fortresses which belonged to them; and whilst the advantages which France derived from her extensive trade and opulent colonies have been cut off, the commerce of your subjects has been generally protected by the superiority of your Majesty's fleets.

" We have seen with satisfaction the suppression of these outrages and insurrections which so recently disgraced some of the

lower orders of the people ; we are sensible of the vigour of your Majesty's government in checking those disorders, and we shall continue our exertions till this dangerous spirit be finally extinguished. We trust that all future attempts to seduce the lower classes from their usual subordination and loyalty will be defeated, and that the instigators of such violences will be brought to condign punishment.

" We acknowledge the beneficial effect of a national militia, which has been so successfully established ; whilst it presents the best security against internal disturbance, it has afforded a considerable augmentation to the general force of the empire.

" We cannot sufficiently express our acknowledgments to your Majesty for appointing a commission under the Great Seal to execute the office of Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, in order to guard the payment of your Majesty's civil list, and the strict appropriation of the revenue to distinct services.

" We shall with cheerfulness grant such supplies as the extraordinary exigencies of the times and the honour of your Majesty's crown and government shall require, knowing that we are engaged in a contest for our freedom, property and religion. We are ready to support those inestimable blessings with our lives and fortunes.

" We shall attend with due regard to the great interests of agriculture, commerce and manufactures, and particularly to the linen manufacture ; and we shall support the Protestant charter schools, and the other public institutions, which are committed to our protection, with accustomed liberality.

" We sincerely thank your Majesty for your gracious reliance upon the loyalty and attachment of your people of Ireland ; we should be indeed insensible of that happiness which we enjoy, under the mild spirit of our religion, and the temperate administration of a just government, if we were not strenuously resolved to resist those attacks which threaten the subversion of every principle that gives security to our persons and properties ; and when we consider the desperate designs of those men who are endeavouring to plunge every government of Europe into confusion and anarchy, and to erect their own power on the ruins of law and order, your Majesty must be assured of our determined resolution to support your Majesty's efforts in averting such dreadful calamities from your faithful people.

" We are highly gratified with your gracious declaration from the throne, that your Majesty's object is peace, and that you will exert yourself, in conjunction with your allies, whenever that desirable object can be obtained, without surrendering the honour of your crown, or sacrificing the present and future security of your people and of the rest of Europe.

" We sincerely thank your Majesty for continuing the Earl of Westmorland in the government of this kingdom, in whose vi-

giance we can depend for the preservation of internal tranquillity, and under whose administration the constitution of Ireland has been substantially improved."

The address being agreed to *nem. con.*

The Hon. Mr. FOSTER reported from the committee appointed to draw up an address, the following; which was also unanimously agreed to.

To his Excellency JOHN, Earl of WESTMORLAND, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland;

The humble ADDRESS of the KNIGHTS, CITIZENS and BURGESSES, in Parliament assembled.

" *May it please your Excellency,*

" We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to lay before your Excellency our cordial thanks for your most excellent speech from the throne to both Houses of Parliament.

" We congratulate your Excellency that the hopes of France, in their unprovoked declaration of war, have been entirely disappointed by the arms of his Majesty and his allies. We feel assured that the firmness of his Majesty's throne, and the stability of the constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, stand unshaken and unimpaired: We learn with satisfaction that many of the important fortresses which belonged to the French are in possession of the forces of his Majesty and his allies, that most of the oppressive conquests of our enemies have been wrested from them, and that the resources derived from their colonial opulence and extensive commerce has been almost entirely cut off, whilst a general protection has been afforded to the trade of his Majesty's subjects.

We acknowledge the vigorous interposition of your Excellency's government, which has suppressed that disposition to insurrection which was for some time prevalent among some of the lower order of the people, and are persuaded that no exertion will be wanting on your part to impress on their minds a due sense of subordination and order.

" We shall heartily concur in whatever measures may be deemed effectual to defeat or punish the machinations of those who may attempt to seduce their accustomed loyalty, and stimulate them to acts of sedition and outrage.

" We are highly gratified that the institution of a national militia has been successful, and that the people are reconciled to this constitutional establishment; its salutary effects are universally felt in the return of internal tranquillity which it secures, and to the increase it has afforded to the public force of the empire.

"We are truly pleased with your Excellency's communication from the throne, that his Majesty has appointed a commission under the great seal to execute the office of High Treasurer in this kingdom, in order that the payment of the civil list granted to the king, and a regular appropriation of the revenue to distinct services, might be carried into execution in a manner as the relative situation of this kingdom will permit. When we combine this important measure with those salutary bills of regulation which passed in the last session respecting the grants of offices and pensions, and the revenue of the crown, we must be fully convinced of your Excellency's knowledge of our real interests, and of your efficient exertions to promote them.

"We thank your Excellency for ordering the national accounts, as well as estimates for the service of the ensuing year, to be laid before us. If the exigencies of the time shall require an extraordinary supply and additional resources, we shall not forget that we are engaged in a war of absolute necessity for the preservation of our liberty, properties and religion, and we shall at the same time consult the true interest of the kingdom and maintain the honour of his Majesty's crown.

"We shall afford the usual support to the Protestant charter schools and the other institutions of general utility, which have been long the object of our attention; and we shall direct our serious care to promote the agriculture, the commerce, the manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture of this kingdom.

"His Majesty's faithful people will continually endeavour to deserve that confidence which his Majesty reposes in their loyalty and attachment; they will maintain their religion and constitution against the unjust aggression of France, and will resist, with their lives and fortunes, the efforts of those desperate men who are endeavouring to erect their dominion on the ruins of law and order, and to spread confusion and anarchy through every government of Europe.

"We are sincerely convinced that his Majesty will, in conjunction with his allies, use every favourable occasion to effectuate a desirable peace, whenever this great end can be procured without surrendering the honour of his crown, or sacrificing the present or future security of his people and of the rest of Europe.

"We are sensible of the fidelity with which your Excellency represents our exertions in his Majesty's service, and having experienced the beneficial effects of your Excellency's administration, we entertain an earnest hope that his Majesty may long continue your Excellency in the government of this kingdom."

The addresses were then ordered to be presented.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 23, 1794.

The SPEAKER reported, that the House had attended his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant with the address of this House to his Majesty, and that thereupon his Excellency was pleased to return the answer following :

“ I will immediately transmit this dutiful and loyal address to be laid before his Majesty.”

He also reported, that he had presented the address of thanks to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant for his most excellent speech to both Houses of Parliament, and that thereupon his Excellency was pleased to return the answer following :

“ I return you my warmest thanks for this address. Your loyalty and attachment to the King, and your spirited determination to support his Majesty against the attacks of his enemies, merit the highest applause.”

FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 1794.

The House proceeded to take into consideration the Lord Lieutenant's speech ; and the same being read,

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved, “ That a supply be granted to his Majesty, and that the same be referred to a committee of the whole House, to sit to-morrow ;” which motion was agreed to.

Mr. VANDELEUR moved, that the proper officer lay before the House, an account of the men raised in this kingdom for the land service; from the first day of January, 1793.

Hon. Mr. WESLEY said, he believed it would not be possible to comply with this motion if the House should adopt it, as there were many men raised in this kingdom, no return of which was made to any office in Ireland. For instance, all the English regiments recruited here, of which no return of the men raised by them, was ever made at the Adjutant General's office.

Mr. VANDELEUR insisted on his motion, understanding that it might be complied with to a certain degree.—Where no returns were made of the men raised, then of course it could not be expected the order should be complied with.

The order was agreed to.

Mr. VANDELEUR then moved, that the proper officer lay before the House, an account of the number of seamen and marines raised in each port since the first day of January, 1793, with the sum total.—Ordered:

The House resolved into a committee of supply, and made progress.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 25, 1794.

The committee of supply was resumed, and made further progress.

MONDAY, JANUARY 27, 1794.

Mr. MASON reported from the committee of supply, that they had agreed, “ That it is the opinion of the committee, a supply be granted to his Majesty.”

To which the House agreed.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 28, 1794.

Mr. DOUGLAS, principal Secretary to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, was introduced and took his seat.

Sir L. PARSONS wished to know from the right hon. gentleman who had been just introduced, what regiments are under orders for foreign service. He said, he intended to submit to the House a proposition relative to the defence of this kingdom. He did not by any means wish to give unnecessary opposition to the measures of administration; but he observed, that in the course of the last summer, the flank companies of the several regiments which composed the flower of the army were sent abroad, and the army was left in a mutilated state. The flank companies were sent to the West Indies; and although it has become a favourite strain of language “ to stand or fall with Great Britain,” yet he could not agree that the flower of our army should be sent to the protection of a sugar colony, and our country left defenceless.

The proposition he meant to bring forward would be to provide for the defence of the country, and not to leave our army at the mercy of government. He said, it was particularly in-

cumbent on Parliament, that a sufficient force should be kept at home for the defence of the country

Sir L. PARSONS declining making any motion on the subject at present, the conversation ended; after which the House adjourned to next day.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29, 1794.

There not being a sufficient number of members, the Speaker adjourned the House.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 30, 1794.

There not being a sufficient number of members, the Speaker adjourned the House.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 31, 1794.

After orders for, and production of, divers public papers, with other routine business,

Mr. NEVILLE had leave to bring in a bill for the improvement of the town and harbour of Wexford, and building a bridge over the river Slaney.

The House then resolved into a committee of accounts.

Mr. VANDELEUR observed, that the account of revenue incidents, for which a sum of 94,000*l.* was charged, was not yet laid before the House. He believed there might be no improper charges included in those incidents, yet he thought it a necessary degree of respect to the House and the public, to lay them on the table, and hoped the committee would not think of making a report until all the public accounts should be laid before them.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER could not tell why this paper had not been presented;—he knew it might be very easily made out, revenue books were in a state of hourly preparation for making out the account. It was not however for him to go to every clerk to make him do his duty. The account would probably be presented before to-morrow, and then he hoped the committee would prepare their report.

Mr. VANDELEUR observed, it was a matter of little moment whether the account were presented or not, if, as in that of the expences of the council board, several charges were jumbled together, so as to render the whole unintelligible.—The charge for the article of stationary, he observed in that account, as indeed all charges for stationary in this country, were enormous;—in this, as in a variety of other instances, he said, the money of this country was squandered, to a degree perfectly shameful;—he instanced the expence of the bar, employed by government, which amounted to a sum incredible for the circumstances of the country.

There was a sum of 7000*l.* he observed, charged under the head of king's letter, as granted to the Royal Canal Company.—That company had now made a public declaration that they did not intend to complete the work, the completion of which was the condition that should entitle them to this money;—he therefore hoped that government would take some pains to recover this sum.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said that this money had been paid to the company, on the authority of a certificate from the committee of accounts, stating, “that the company had performed the necessary conditions for receiving the money, namely, having previously expended an equal sum of their own.”—If however, the gentlemen, by instituting any inquiry, could bring the money back, he should be heartily glad of it, for the Treasury was never in greater need of it. As to the magnitude of the charge for stationary, for the council-board, he observed there were a variety of other expences which were necessarily included in that, such as expence of messengers, who are frequently employed in communicating between the Lord Lieutenant's country residence and the castle: It was by the inclusion of those non-descript charges that the expence under the head of stationary became so extravagant apparently.—With respect to the gentlemen of the bar, he was glad the hon. gentleman had attacked a body of men so well able to defend themselves; it would save him the trouble of doing it.

The House resuming,

Sir L. PARSONS said he had had the honour, on Monday last, of moving for a paper which might with ease have been made out in two hours—that paper was not yet presented—the neglect of the officer in this present instance he thought highly culpable, and unless the paper should be presented before to-morrow, he would be under the necessity of laying before the House some proposition relative to the officer, whoever he was, who had been so negligent of his duty. The paper related to the strength of

the military force in this country—it was a subject which appeared to him highly interesting at this particular crisis—a crisis as important as any at which parliament had ever sat, yet at which there appeared a fatal torpor in the establishments of this country, which might produce the worst consequences.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1794.

Committee of accounts sat, and made some progress.

The SPEAKER having taken the chair,

Mr. GRATTAN moved, that the proper officers lay before the House a schedule of the duties payable on the different articles of British manufacture imported into this kingdom.—In the last session he had the honour, he said, of making two motions on this subject, the object of which was, to obtain a reduction of the duties payable on Irish manufactures imported into Great Britain, to the standard of those payable on similar articles imported into Ireland.—Gentlemen at that time agreed to the principle, but expressed a wish that the business might be for some time postponed;—he therefore postponed it to the close of the session, when he again brought it forward.—The right hon. gentleman at that time in the confidence of government, expressed a wish that the subject might not be at that time insisted on, promising that in the interval between that and the next session of parliament, he would do what he could to effect such an arrangement as should give satisfaction. He yielded to the wishes of the right hon. gentleman, giving notice however that he would again bring the subject before parliament in the ensuing session;—he now intended doing so, in a manner however the most amicable to Government and to Great Britain. On some day, therefore, during the next week, he would propose something to the House on this subject; preparatory to which, he now moved for this schedule.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER had no objection whatever to the production of this paper; it was in fact already before the House in the book of rates. The right hon. gentleman had very fairly stated the conversation which had passed last session on this subject, and he thought himself bound to say, that he knew the noble lord alluded to had represented to the administration in Great Britain, what had occurred in the House on that subject, and had done every thing in his power to effect what was desired.

Mr. Sec. DOUGLAS thought himself called on to confirm what had been advanced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. From what he knew of the noble lord, he was convinced he had done every thing in his power on this subject; at the same time, for himself, he waved saying any thing at all respecting the arrangement the right hon. gentleman had mentioned.

The schedule was ordered.

Mr. KNOX moved leave to bring in a bill to render the process of law in the court of King's-bench more beneficial and effective.

Leave given, and the bill shortly after was presented, and read a first time.

Sir L. PARSONS mentioned his having been just gratified with a view of the paper which he had moved for on Monday last, and he now rose to learn of gentlemen on what day it would be most convenient to them that he should make a proposition to the House on the subject of putting this kingdom in a state of adequate defence.—His object in doing this, was not reprehension of any thing past, but caution with respect to the future. Since the House had now pledged themselves to support the war, the next step should be to take care that the country was put in a state of security: he would therefore, on Monday or Tuesday next, if gentlemen had no objection to that day, state to the House what appeared to him the best mode of doing this.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that as the defence of the country was necessarily connected with the public expence, he thought it necessary that the House should decide on the hon. gentleman's plan, whatever it might be; before the supply was voted.—It was certainly the object of the servants of the crown, to put the country into as good a state of defence as might be, but her strength must be always proportioned to her ability. It had been his idea, if the military force of last year should be thought sufficient, to propose the same for the present one, and he could not help saying, that he thought it unnecessary for any gentleman to interfere in this subject, if there had been no neglect in his Majesty's servants hitherto.—That there was not any neglect is evident, for during the period of domestic disturbances, no person had made proper application to the Commander in Chief for a military force, who did not receive a force completely adequate.—It had always been the peculiar province of the executive power to manage at pleasure the military force of the country.—During the last summer, no men had been sent away who might not be very well spared, as the event proved; and such as were sent away, were immediately replaced by others.

Sir L. PARSONS said, he would never judge from the mere event, whether the conduct of government were right or not. In the first instance, they could not have foreseen when they sent away the disciplined troops last summer, what the capricious government of France might have attempted. What had happened therefore, in the last summer, afforded, he thought, very good cause for the House to interfere. It appeared to him that a very awful responsibility hung about his Majesty's ministers; at this moment, every body knew that a vast number of flat-bottomed boats were collected along the French coast, and that the government of that country were making the utmost exertions to get their fleet into a state of strength.—No gentleman could positively say in what service these were to be employed, it therefore became them to be cautious. In what he should have the honour of submitting on this subject, none could accuse him of betraying the weakness of the country, or encouraging the enemy—for he should mention no defect without proposing an adequate remedy.

Mr. VANDELEUR moved, that a committee be appointed to enquire into the expenditure of the sum of 7,000*l.* granted conditionally to the Royal Canal Company.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1794.

Mr. Sec. DOUGLAS delivered the following most gracious message from his Majesty :—

“ G E O R G E R.

“ His Majesty returns his thanks to the House of Commons for their expressions of affection and loyalty, for their cordial attachment to his person, family and government.

“ His Majesty receives with great satisfaction their congratulations on the failure of the attempts which his enemies have made to shake the stability of his throne, and to weaken the security of our happy constitution, and on the general success of his forces, and those of his allies, during the last campaign.

“ It affords great satisfaction to his Majesty to find that the national militia has been so successfully established, and that his faithful Commons are resolved to continue their exertions to prevent the internal disturbances in Ireland.

“ His Majesty is sensible of the zeal they manifest for the support of his government, by their assurance of granting him such supplies as the exigence of the times and the honour of his crown shall require;—and his Majesty observes with pleasure, their resolution to persevere in their endeavours to improve the agriculture, the commerce and manufactures, and in their sup-

port of the Protestant charter-schools and other public institutions of that kingdom.

“ His Majesty feels justly gratified by the confidence they repose in his present chief governor, and by the sense they entertain of the advantages they have derived under his administration.

“ G. R.”

Mr. Sec. DOUGLAS moved, that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, for his most gracious message.

Ordered, *nem. con.*

Mr. SACKVILLE HAMILTON begged permission of the House to withdraw the estimate which he laid before them on Saturday last, of the compensation to be made to the officers in Chancery. A circumstance which had since occurred, rendered it necessary that one, containing fuller information, should be laid upon the table.

The estimate was accordingly withdrawn, and Mr. Hamilton presented another.

Mr. VANDELEUR objected to the estimate which lay upon the table, of the expences of civil buildings in the course of the year. It seemed to have been formed upon the profusion of former precedents, rather than on the principles of œconomy, which should prevail at the present time. There was no discrimination. All buildings were thrown into a general mass, and the sums that might be necessary for each were not mentioned.—He thought that they ought to be specifically detailed, that it was the duty of the hon. baronet, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to procure the House that necessary information.

Mr. CUFFE replied, that under the head of civil buildings, all the buildings at present carrying on in this country were included, and that it was impossible to form an estimate unless from the expence of former years. The money to be expended would in a great degree depend upon the œconomy of the Lord Lieutenant, and he would answer for it, that no chief governor was ever more economically disposed than his Excellency the Earl of Westmorland. If any particular building should be laid a finger upon by the hon. gentleman, he should have no objection to satisfy him for his part, to the extent of his ability. The new House of Commons, to replace that which had been burned, was included in the list of civil buildings, and many others of great magnitude. As a proof of the disposition of the Lord Lieutenant to economize, he mentioned that a part of the Castle of Dublin was in so ruinous a situation, that it would probably require to be taken down and rebuilt—yet his Excellency had ex-

preſſly commanded, that proviſion for ſuch a contingency ſhould not be put into the eſtimate. The probability was upon the whole, that the eſtimate inſtead of being made upon too high a ſcale, would fall below the actual expence.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER did not hold himſelf bound to answer general queſtions upon the ſubjects of eſtimates and expenditures. He would willingly ſpeak to any particular item of expence if, ſpecified.

Colonel BLAQUIERE roſe, and made ſome obſervations on an hon. gentleman's [Mr. Vandeleur] general diſapprobation of the meaſures adopted by Government.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1794.

Routine buſineſs.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1794.

Sir L. PARSONS moved, " That an addreſs be preſented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, praying him to lay before his Maſteſty the humble deſire of the Houſe, praying that his Maſteſty would be graciously pleaſed to order, that copies of the ſeveral treaties and conventions formed by his Maſteſty with foreign powers, and laid by his Maſteſty's orders before the parliament of Great Britain, be laid before this Houſe."

This motion was ſeconded by Mr. W. Tighe.

It was ſupported alſo by Mr. Duquerry, Mr. Curran, Mr. Brook, Mr. Maxwell, Mr. Egan, Dr. Brown, and the Hon. Mr. Stuart, on the ground of the right of the Iriſh parliament to inveſtigate the motives and conduct of the war; and it was opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Attorney General, Mr. Ormsby, Mr. Archdall, Mr. Marcus Beresford, Sir John Blaquiere, Colonel Beresford, the Hon. Mr. Weſley, Mr. Barrington, Mr. Cooke, the Hon. Mr. Pery, Lord Headford, the Hon. D. Brown, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. G. Ponſonby.

The queſtion being put, the Houſe divided,

Ayes,	—	9
Noes,	—	128

The Houſe reſolved into a committee of ſupply.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER stated the estimates to be at 1,820,000*l.* the whole of which, he said, might not eventually be necessary, as he doubted not very considerable savings would be effected: And advised that 8 or 900,000*l.* of this money should be raised by a loan, in order to avoid the necessity of taxation as much as possible.

Having gone through the several estimates until he came to that of ordnance,

Sir L. PARSONS said, he did not feel competent to say in what state the sum proposed might place the ordnance of this country: he feared that ministers rested in a fatal security and imaginary safety against the danger of invasion; but if the fatality should occur to the public safety of the country, he pledged himself, by the blessing of God, to use his exertions for bringing the delinquent minister to the scaffold.

Mr. COOKE reported, that the estimates on this head had been formed on the returns made by the best experienced officers in the kingdom, touching the best mode of putting the country in a state of defence; and that it was now in a very respectable state.

The House resumed, and adjourned.

Mr. MASON reported from the committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred to take into consideration the supply granted to his Majesty, as also his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's speech, the resolutions which the committee had directed him to report; which he read in his place, as follow:

1. Resolved, That it appears to this committee, that the nation is liable to the payment of certain life annuities, at the rate of 6*l.* per cent. per annum, for a sum of 440,000*l.*; and is also liable to the payment of certain other life annuities, at the rate of 7*l.* 10*s.* per cent. per annum, for a further sum of 300,000*l.*

2. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that twelve thousand effective men, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included, are necessary to be maintained within this kingdom for its defence.

3. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that to enable his Majesty to carry into execution his gracious intentions and determined resolution, signified to us by his Excellency the Lord Viscount Townshend, late Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom, by his Majesty's command, to keep within this kingdom, for the necessary defence of the same, twelve thousand men, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included, at all times, unless in cases of invasion or rebellion in Great Britain,

three thousand two hundred and thirty-two men, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included, be maintained for one year from the 31st day of March, 1794, to the 1st day of April, 1795.

4. Resolved, That it may be expedient, in the present situation of affairs, that a further number of men, not exceeding five thousand men, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included, be maintained for the defence of the country, from the 31st day of March, 1794, to the 1st day of April, 1795, inclusive, so as that the forces of the establishment of this kingdom may amount to twenty thousand two hundred and thirty-two effective men, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included.

5. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 402,818*l.* 2*s.* 11½*d.* be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of the army to be maintained within this kingdom, for one year to the 31st of March, 1795.

6. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 48,468*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of the army serving abroad, to be maintained by this kingdom, for one year to the 31st of March, 1795.

7. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 94,771*l.* 5*s.* 9½*d.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of the augmentation to the army of this kingdom, for one year to the 31st day of March, 1795.

8. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 5,800*l.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of the additional pay to such regiments of cavalry and infantry as may be commanded on duty in Dublin, for one year to the 31st of March, 1795.

9. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 8012*l.* 3*s.* 1½*d.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of general and general staff officers, for one year to the 31st of March, 1795.

10. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 2951*l.* 14*s.* 11*d.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of additional general, and general staff officers, for one year to the 31st of March, 1795.

11. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 6292*l.* 13*s.* 3¼*d.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of the allowances to the muster-master general, quarter-master general, adjutant-general, judge-advocate general, physician and surgeon-general, provost-martial general, major of brigade, six commissaries of muster, the agent for the transmission of deserters, and the town-major, their depu-

ties and clerks, and the contingent expences of their respective offices, for one year to the 31st of March, 1795.

12. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 5311*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of governors of garrisons and their incidents, for one year to the 31st of March, 1795.

13. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 27,115*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of recruiting his Majesty's army, including occasional payments and bounties for extra services and other incidental expences, for one year to the 31st of March, 1795.

14. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 15,235*l.* 14*s.* 11½*d.* be granted to his Majesty to defray the charge of half pay to reduced officers of his Majesty's army, for one year to the 31st of March, 1795.

15. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 5569*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of the allowances to be paid to the widows of commissioned officers, and the expences attending the same, for one year to the 31st of March, 1795.

16. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 39,786*l.* 1*s.* 8½*d.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of the extraordinary expence of forage, for one year to the 31st of March, 1795.

17. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 108,683*l.* 5*s.* 8½*d.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of the ordinary and extraordinary expence of the office of ordnance for one year to the 31st of March, 1795.

18. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 73,000*l.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of the contingencies of the army under the head of barracks, for one year to the 31st of March, 1795.

19. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 16,730*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of the Royal Hospital for Invalids, for one year to the 31st of March, 1795.

20. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 1656*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of the Royal Military Infirmary, for one year to the 31st of March, 1795.

21. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 433,182*l.* 11*s.* 3½*d.* be granted to his Ma-

jefty for defraying the charge of the embodied militia of the feveral counties in this kingdom, for one year to the 31ft of March, 1795.

22. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a fum not exceeding 67,000*l.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of the contingencies of the militia under the head of barracks, for one year to the 31ft of March, 1795.

23. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a fum not exceeding 24,000*l.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of civil buildings, including the wages of overfeers, rents, taxes and other incidental expences, for one year to the 31ft of March, 1795.

24. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a fum not exceeding 2207*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of the appointment of affociate and affiftant judges, for one year to the 25th of March, 1795.

25. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a fum not exceeding 2500*l.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of compensation for the lofs of emolument in the office of chief remembrancer of the court of Exchequer, for one year to the 25th of March, 1795.

26. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a fum not exceeding 12,000*l.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge which may probably be incurred in the office of the folicitor in criminal caufes, for one year to the 25th of March, 1795.

27. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a fum not exceeding 1026*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the expence attending pratique in the port of Dublin, for one year to the 25th of March, 1795.

28. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a fum not exceeding 12,000*l.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of printing, ftationary and other difburfements for the chief and under fecretaries offices and apartments, and other public offices in Dublin Caftle, and for the riding charges and other expences of the deputy purfuivants and extra meffengers attending the faid offices, for one year to the 25th of March, 1795.

29. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a fum not exceeding 4100*l.* be granted to his Majesty to defray the charge of printing proclamations and advertisements in the Dublin Gazette and other newspapers, for one year to the 25th of March, 1795.

30. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 790*l.* be granted to his Majesty to defray the charge of apprehending public offenders, for one year to the 25th of March, 1795.

31. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 3500*l.* be granted to his Majesty to pay for fees and other customary allowance to the officers both in England and Ireland, on passing the several public bills of the present session.

32. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 2466*l.* 19*s.* 11½*d.* be granted to his Majesty to pay the usual and customary allowances to the several persons and for the several purposes following, that is to say,

	£.	s.	d.
French conformist minister of the united congregation of St. Patrick's, Dublin	150	0	0
French minister at Cork	100	0	0
French ministers at Lisburn, Dundalk and Inishannon, at 60 <i>l.</i> each	180	0	0
French ministers at Waterford and Portarlington, at 50 <i>l.</i> each	100	0	0
Minister to the congregation of German Protestants in Dublin	50	0	0
Prebendary of St. Audoen's, for visiting sick prisoners in the several prisons in Dublin	20	0	0
Rector of St. Paul's, for attending the sick in the barrack of Dublin	52	18	2½
Chaplain attending the prisoners in the Four-courts Marshalsea	52	18	2½
Chaplain to the garrison of Charlemont	42	6	7
Under library-keeper	30	0	0
Vicar of Castleknock, in lieu of glebe and tythe land, Phoenix-park	50	15	0
Minister of St. James's, for the like	12	0	0
Vicar of St. Andrew's, for minister's money payable out of the houses and grounds whereon the Parliament House stands	41	0	7½
Rector of St. Michan's, for minister's money	10	6	2
Archbishop of Dublin, for proxies out of divers churches	18	5	6
Bishop of Meath, out of the manor of Trim	3	15	0
Dean and chapter and the vicars choral of Christ Church	47	6	8
Lord mayor and citizens of Dublin	800	0	0
Provost and fellows of Trinity College	388	15	0
Professor of the French and German languages in Trinity College	100	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
Professors of the Spanish and Italian languages in Trinity College - - - - -	100	0	0
And to the Royal Irish Academy, for rent of an house - - - - -	116	13	0

33. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 256*l.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of the commissioners for examining, auditing and passing the public accounts.

34. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 4000*l.* be given to the Right Hon. John Foster, Speaker of the House of Commons, to enable him to maintain the state and dignity of his office.

35. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 2508*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* be applied to defray the charge of the several disbursements to be made by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, and the Chief Serjeant at Arms, for the use of both Houses of Parliament during this present session, and to the clerk of the House of Lords for engrossing, comparing, examining and attesting the public bills of the present session, except the money bills.

36. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 5395*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* be applied to defray the charge of printing work and stationary for both Houses of Parliament, during this present session.

37. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 500*l.* be given to the Right Hon. John Monck Mason, chairman of the committees of supply and ways and means, for his services during this session of parliament.

38. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 540*l.* be given to Robert Thoroton, Esq; clerk of this House, as a reward for his attendance and service this session of Parliament; and a further sum of 200*l.* for his trouble and expence in preparing copies, superintending the printing, and making an index to the thirtieth volume of the journals of this House; and also a further sum of 278*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* for engrossing the money bills of this session, and for comparing, examining and attesting the same.

39. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 350*l.* be given to Edward Tresham, clerk assistant, as a reward for his attendance and service this session of Parliament.

40. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 500*l.* be given to George Frederick Winstanly and

Jonathan Rogers, committee clerks, as a reward for their attendance and service this session of Parliament, to be equally divided between them.

41. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 320*l.* be given to James Corry, clerk of the journals and records, as a reward for his attendance and service this session of Parliament; and also, a further sum of 200*l.* for his trouble in superintending the printing of the schedules of duties and other papers for the committee of way and means, in the present session of Parliament.

42. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 140*l.* be given to Dawson Ellis, clerk of the engrossments, as a reward for his attendance and service this session of Parliament.

43. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 670*l.* be given to John M^cClintock, Serjeant at Arms, as a reward for his attendance and service this session of Parliament.

44. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 70*l.* be given to John Walsh, as a reward for his trouble and attendance in delivering the votes to the members this session of Parliament.

45. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 200*l.* be given to John Kennedy and James M^cCowan, door-keepers to the House, as a reward for their attendance and service this session of Parliament, to be equally divided between them.

46. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 700*l.* be given to the Speaker, to be by him divided among the back door-keepers and messengers attending this House, being twenty in number, and the other attendants, in such manner as he shall direct.

47. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 250*l.* be given to Thomas L'Estrange, for his extraordinary care and trouble in attending this House as Deputy Serjeant at Arms.

48. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 700*l.* be given to the Speaker, to be applied by him for the better arrangement of business in the clerk's offices.

49. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 340*l.* be given to Stephen Moore, Esq; accountant-general, as a reward for his expence and trouble in preparing and stating the public accounts of the nation laid before the House this session of Parliament.

50. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 800*l.* be given to John Tydd, Esq; in consideration of his extraordinary attendance, care and expence in the office of paymaster of corn premiums.

51. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 200*l.* be given to John Claudius Beresford, Esq; inspector-general of imports and exports, as a reward for his expence and trouble in preparing and making out the account of the imports and exports, for one year ending the 25th of March, 1793, pursuant to the order of this House.

52. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 70*l.* be given to Henry Smyth, deputy paymaster of corn premiums, for his extraordinary trouble and expence in preparing accounts by him laid before this House for one year, ending at Midsummer, 1793.

53. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 200*l.* be given to Paul Le Bas, examiner of corn premiums, on account of the great increase of his trouble in examining and keeping accounts of said premiums, and for his expences in payment of clerks, in the year ending at Lady-day, 1793.

54. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 240*l.* be given to John Smart, deputy accountant-general, for his extraordinary trouble this session of Parliament, and superintending the printing of the public accounts.

55. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 140*l.* be given to John Wetherall, first clerk in the office of the inspector-general of imports and exports, for his extraordinary trouble in making up the several accounts laid by him before this House, and attending the House this session of Parliament.

56. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 140*l.* be given to John Swan, examiner of excise, for his extraordinary trouble and expence in preparing accounts for this House.

57. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 80*l.* be granted to Elizabeth Molloy, for the additional expences incurred by her in the articles of coal and candles, which she is obliged to furnish in the new buildings in the interval between this and the next session of Parliament.

58. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 822*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* be given to James King and Abraham Bradley King, printers to this House, for printing and binding five hundred copies of the thirtieth volume of the journals, for the use of the members of this House.

59. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 303*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* be given to George Grierson, printer to his Majesty, for one hundred copies of the twelfth volume and twenty-five copies of the thirteenth volume of the statutes at large, for the use of the members of this House.

60. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 2000*l.* be given for one year to the 25th day of March, 1795, to the trustees of the linen and hempen manufactures, to encourage the raising sufficient quantities of hemp and flax in this kingdom.

61. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a further sum of 2000*l.* for one year to the 25th of March, 1795, be given to the trustees of the linen and hempen manufactures, for the encouragement of the hempen and and flaxen manufactures in the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught.

62. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 13,000*l.* be given to the Incorporated Society, as a full provision for supporting the Protestant charter schools of this kingdom, for one year to the 25th day of March, 1795.

63. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 5000*l.* be given to the governors of the foundling hospital and work-house, towards enabling them to pay off the debts by them contracted for the use of that charity, and towards supporting their necessary expences.

64. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 9000*l.* be given to the corporation for the relief of the poor in the city of Dublin, for the support of the House of Industry, in aid of charitable contributions, for one year to the 25th of March, 1795.

65. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 1000*l.* be given to the Hibernian Marine Society, towards supporting that charity.

66. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 2000*l.* be given to the governors of the Hibernian school, for the support of that charity.

67. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 5000*l.* be granted to the Board of First Fruits, for building new churches and rebuilding old churches in such parishes, as no public divine service has been performed in for twenty years last, and for encouragement of the building glebe houses, on such terms as they shall think fit.

68. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 5500*l.* be given to the Dublin Society, for the im-

provement of husbandry and other useful arts in Ireland; to be applied in such manner as shall be directed by Parliament.

69. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 10,350*l.* for one year to the 25th of March, 1795, be given to the trustees of the linen and hempen manufactures, to be by them applied in such manner as shall appear to them to be the most conducive to promote and encourage the said manufactures; the said sum to be in the place and stead of a like sum paid to them out of the produce of the duties on teas and coffee.

70. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 5000*l.* for one year to the 25th day of March, 1795, be given to the corporation for paving, cleansing and lighting the streets of Dublin, to be by them expended in paving, lighting and cleansing the said streets; the said sum to be in the place and stead of a like sum paid to them out of the produce of the duties on carriages.

71. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 2600*l.* be given to the Westmorland Lock Hospital, towards supporting that charity.

72. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 200*l.* be applied to defray the incidental expences of the board of treasury, for one year to the 25th of March, 1795.

73. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 273*l.* 15*s.* be applied to pay Colonel Valency, after the rate of 15*s.* per day during the time he shall be employed on a military survey of this kingdom, in the year ending the 25th of March, 1795.

74. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum of 2500*l.* be given to the Lord Chancellor and Chief Judges, towards building the courts of justice.

To which resolutions the House severally agreed.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1794.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER observed, that it had been usual to thank the Speaker for his speech to the Lord Lieutenant on presenting the money bills, but this had been omitted last sessions on account of the adjournment of the House. He therefore moved, that the thanks of the House be given to Mr. Speaker, for his excellent speech on presenting the money bills last sessions, and that the said speech be printed;—both these motions were carried unanimously.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1794.

Mr. MASON made his report from the committee of ways and means; which was agreed to.

Mr. NEVILLE brought in the bill for the improvement of the harbour of Wexford, and building a bridge over the Slaney; it was read a first time.

Mr. WOLFE (Forenaughts) presented a petition from the undertakers of the Shannon navigation to the falls of Killaloe, and a plan of the intended work;—the prayer of the petition was for a charter of incorporation, and they offered to carry goods at one penny per ton per mile on the navigation, and a halfpenny per ton on the lake.

This petition was referred to a committee.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1794.

Mr. GRATTAN, rose not, he observed, for the purpose of making any motion. Some days since, he had presented a petition on behalf of the weavers concerned in the cotton manufacture, the prayer of which was, to reduce the duty on the importation of cotton yarn to a par with that paid on importation of the same commodity into Great Britain. He was recently informed, that should the proposed reduction of duty take place, though it might benefit the weaver, it would in a very great degree prejudice the proprietors of cotton-mills; for his part, he had not yet formed an opinion upon this subject, which he wished to have disposed of in one way or other before the House should resolve itself into a committee of ways and means. There was an order of the day for going into such committee, which he hoped would be postponed, as it would preclude discussion upon a manufacturing question. He then proceeded to suggest the idea to Government of resorting to the means of establishing independent companies, as in England, for the defence of the nation. He did not intend to propose any specific motion; but wished gentlemen to have it in contemplation. Lastly, he proposed the first open day for bringing forward the subject of equalizing the duties as payable in Great Britain on the several articles of import and export, and of adjusting the commerce of the two countries. It was understood, that Thursday next was the day upon which the House would enter upon the discussion.

A petition of undersigned proprietors of certain cotton-mills in this kingdom, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that confiding in the growing prosperity of the cotton manufacture of this kingdom, which, under the patronage of the House, and with the assistance of considerable sums which from time to time have been granted by Parliament for that purpose, petitioners have themselves expended very great sums in erecting cotton-mills and furnishing the same with machinery; that their exertions have so far succeeded, that in the course of not more than ten years, many very great and considerable works of this nature, in which, as petitioners are ready to prove, a capital of one hundred thousand pounds and upwards has been expended, have been erected in different parts of this kingdom; that several new works are now erecting, and one of a very great and considerable extent has lately been completed in the neighbourhood of this metropolis; that the article of calicoes, forming the great branch of said manufacture, as necessary to found and supply printing and stamping yards, it was thought proper by act of Parliament to regulate the duties payable upon the importation of the same, which promoted the manufacture of calicoes to a great degree in this kingdom, and from thence many of petitioners were encouraged to go the lengths they have done in and towards erecting said cotton mills; that from the number of spindles now at work, and also those which, if not prevented by the cause herein after-mentioned will soon be at work, it can be demonstrated the mills of this kingdom will speedily be able to supply the whole demand wanting for every branch of the cotton manufacture, save some of the fine numbers that may be required for the muslin, lawn and kenting manufacture, which, though not at present, will speedily be obtained from said mills, if properly protected, and by mule spinning, lately introduced and increasing in this kingdom; that from the late general and extraordinary stagnation of trade in England, warps and twist have been poured into this kingdom in immense quantities, and are now selling notoriously under prime cost and upon long credit, and there being at this time little or no demand in this kingdom for calicoes and other goods requiring the produce of said mills, petitioners must be under a necessity of discharging all the people employed in said mills, who are very numerous, and of all sexes and ages, from six upwards, and wholly to give up their works and lose the money sunk in the same, if the duty now payable upon the importation of cotton warps and water-spun twist be reduced; that the extensive trade of the cotton manufacture in the sister country has of late received so great a check as to occasion an accumulation of all articles with them, and, in order to keep up the price thereof at home, they find it their interest to send them into the Irish market, and sell them under the

cost, in such a manner as threatens greatly to distress, if not wholly to annihilate, that manufacture in this kingdom; that petitioners are ready to prove, by incontestible evidence, that without such duty to protect them, as now subsists, their mills cannot in future be employed, but must be abandoned, and many thousands of men, women and children be turned out of employ, and with the mills must fall the cotton manufacture of this kingdom; as for the articles produced by them, the people of this kingdom must then be dependant on another country who may supply or withhold at discretion; and therefore praying relief.

The petition was referred to the consideration of a committee.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER thought the notice given by the right honourable gentleman rather short. As to the case of the cotton manufacturers, he had no objection to keep the committee of ways and means open until it should be settled in the most adviseable manner. But as to the suggestion of the establishment of independent companies, he could wish that it had been made at the commencement of the session, instead of then, when they were about to open the committee of ways and means. Whatever the system was, it ought to have been proposed before the supply was voted. He had the same objection, the shortness of the notice, to enter upon the extensive subject of the adjustment of the commerce of the two countries, as it was not to be expected that gentlemen should debate public questions when so suddenly brought forward, that no time was allowed for acquiring due information.

Mr. Sec. DOUGLAS said, that the suggestion of the right hon. gentleman, relative to the establishment of independent companies, from its nature and importance, was certainly deserving of the most serious attention; and he hoped, therefore, that it would be understood as under the consideration of Government.

Sir L. PARSONS declared himself happy that the right honourable gentlemen so fully coincided in opinion. He was proceeding to speak, when

The SPEAKER informed Sir Laurence Parsons that he was out of order. The question before the House was, that the committee on the cotton manufacture should be instructed to hear evidence on behalf of the proprietors of cotton mills. He put the question accordingly; which was agreed to.

Sir L. PARSONS allowed the Speaker to be perfectly correct; but he thought it hard that when other gentlemen were heard,

not on the subject of the cotton manufacture, but on the defence of the nation, that he should be refused the same favour. The sentiments of both gentlemen fully proved the position which he had laid down on a former night in the committee of supply, that Ireland was by no means in a proper state of defence for repelling a foreign invasion. However gentlemen might differ upon abstract political questions, however they might dislike ministers or their measures, the great point of putting the nation in a respectable state of defence, was one in which they should all unite.—What else was there to which we look for protection for our lives, our properties, the constitution which we possess, or the government under which we live? The right hon. gentlemen might prefer the expedient of independent companies for the purpose of either augmenting the army or the militia; he cared not, he should concur in the means, provided the end which he had in view was likely to be accomplished.

Mr. Sec. DOUGLAS denied that he had expressed any opinion whatever upon the suggestion of establishing independent companies in this country. He conceived that they were to be officered by the Crown, and that they were to be subject to the same law as the militia forces. Conceiving the suggestion in this manner, he thought it his duty to hope that it would be understood as under the consideration of Government.

The order for going into the committee of ways and means being read,

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER observed, that he had not the pleasure of seeing some of his friends in the revenue department near him, nor had he any opportunity of consulting them upon many articles upon which their information might be highly necessary. He should therefore move, that the order be discharged, and a new one substituted for to-morrow, when he should be able to let the House and the nation know what the new taxes to be proposed were.—Ordered accordingly.

Mr. VANDELEUR observed, that the committee to whom was referred an inquiry into the expenditure of 7000*l.* by the Directors of the Royal Canal, were of opinion that the whole sum had been expended, and though they might have objections to the manner in which it was done, doubts had been entertained whether they were competent to enter into the conduct of the parties concerned?—He therefore moved, that the said committee be empowered to enquire into the conduct of the Directors of the Royal Canal, the state of the docks, and the time likely to elapse before the work shall be completed.—Agreed to

A bill for granting to his Majesty, certain duties and rates upon the portage and conveyance of all letters and packets within this kingdom, was presented, and read the first time.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY II, 1794.

Mr. W. B. CONYNGHAM said, that previous to the House going into the committee of ways and means, he would submit a few observations relative to the establishing of light-houses on the coasts of Ireland. The perilous state of the western coast of Ireland has been long complained of by merchants. From the Copeland islands on the northern coast of this kingdom, all round the north-west coast, there was not a single light-house; so that mariners and merchants constantly express their fears of trading to any of the ports lying on such a dangerous shore. He thought if light-houses were established on the coasts of Sligo, Galway and Kerry, that the trade of Ireland would be materially benefited, and insurance become considerably less on the merchants. At present, such an unfavourable opinion is entertained of the north-west coast of Ireland, that vessels trading thither cannot obtain an insurance at Lloyd's. The annual expence of a light-house he estimated at 350*l.* and he threw it out for the consideration of the committee of ways and means, whether the levying of a small tax on the tonnage of all shipping trading into Ireland, would not be a feasible mode of accomplishing this salutary object.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he was of opinion, that the building of light-houses would be a very good regulation; and thought if a small tax was levied on British and Irish vessels trading into this kingdom, the object could be readily accomplished. At present, he said, all foreign vessels trading hither are subject to a duty of four-pence per ton; and he thought it but reasonable, that British and Irish vessels should also be liable to a small tax, where their interests were so immediately concerned. The collection of it, he said, might, for greater facility, be intrusted to the collectors of the ordinary revenue, and the necessary works carried into execution by disbursements from the Treasury.

Mr. VANDELEUR thought the House much obliged to the right hon. gentleman who suggested this very necessary regulation. The western coast of Ireland, he said, was most perilous to mariners—and the improvement proposed would, he was sure, benefit the merchants much by lowering the rates of freight and insurance; but if a new tax should be levied for a particular pur-

pose, he thought there should be a distinct account kept of it, that if its produce should exceed the sum necessary, it might not be appropriated to other purposes, but a deduction made of the excess. A particular account might, he said, be kept by the ordinary collectors, without at all joining it with the revenues, and the tax might thus be rendered exactly proportionate to the necessary expenditure.—He wished, however, that in carrying this plan into effect, some system like that of the Trinity-house in London should be adopted, and that the fund when raised should be appropriated to that particular use only.

Mr. B. CONYNGBAM apprehended that the funds might be found at first too small to carry it into execution, and therefore thought the plan proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be adopted. He had conversed, he said, with persons of the best information in England on the subject, and from what he had learned, considered the best way of laying the tax would be on general principle.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER presented, a bill to grant to his Majesty for one year, certain duties on fire hearths, in lieu of the duties formerly charged.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1794.

Mr. BERESFORD presented a petition from the cotton spinners of Prosperous, in the county of Kildare, whose names are thereunto subscribed, setting forth, that observing an account of a petition to Parliament, purporting to be the prayer of a number of manufacturers carrying on the cotton business, praying that cotton yarn might be imported into this kingdom duty free, hath much disturbed the petitioners minds, fearing the same might be attended to and carried into a law; that the petitioners having expended the whole of their properties in buildings and machinery for carrying on the business of spinning cotton yarn; that there is in the town of Prosperous alone upwards of one thousand souls, who derive their whole support from the cotton manufacture, the greatest part of whom are employed by the petitioners; that in consequence of the great difference between the price of cotton wool here and in England, the petitioners labour under a disadvantage in that article alone equal to one-eighth part of the price of the raw material; that providing the prayer of the said petition be carried into a law the petitioners should absolutely lose the amount of the sums affixed to each of their names in the schedule annexed to the petition, which are the sums they have expended, having had no advantage from the business this last year, but what originated through

such protecting duties as now exist ; and therefore praying that said duties, as they now stand, may continue ; that vigilant officers may be appointed to superintend the different sea-ports ; true entries may be made and returned of every species of spun cotton yarn, or cotton manufactured goods of every description imported into this kingdom, believing that such regulations being adhered to, the cotton spinning and manufacture of cotton goods will continue to improve.

This petition was referred to a committee.

Mr. Sec. DOUGLAS thought it his duty to mention a circumstance in which the commercial part of the country was interested. The executive power in France, he said, having thought proper to compel all persons in that country having property in the funds of these kingdoms, to assign that property to them, taking in place of it assignats at par, it was thought necessary in a neighbouring country to take some step to meet this measure, and it would probably be thought expedient to do so here also ; the public being interested in this business, he thought it his duty to apprize them of it.

Sir L. PARSONS wished to know, whether the right hon. gentleman meant to bring forward any measure similar to that alluded to by a right hon. gentleman, relative to independent companies ; if he did, he would reserve what he had to offer relative to the defence of the country, till that measure came forward.

Mr. DOUGLAS said, he had not pledged himself to do any thing on that subject, it appeared to him worthy of consideration, and it was now meeting that consideration it deserved ; but he could not yet say he had made up his mind on the subject.

Sir L. PARSONS agreed to postpone what he had to propose, until administration should have decided—He cared not by what means the country should be put into a state of defence, if it was put into that state ; but he could not help saying, he thought ministers were sleeping over a volcano.

The House having gone into a committee of ways and means,

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, the sum to be raised by new taxes this year, was about 100,000*l.*—This was not the whole sum to be provided for, but he thought it best to propose no more this year.

The first tax he meant to propose, was an additional duty of 9*d.* per barrel on malt, diminishing proportionally the duty on

malt liquor, in order to throw the addition tax wholly on spirits.—The produce of this, he estimated would be 33,526*l.*—but he would take it at 30,000*l.*

The next was a licence to malsters of 40*s.* per annum;—there are 2345 malsters; of course, the produce would be 4,690*l.* which he would take at 4000*l.*

He was induced to adopt this tax from having heard that on an average, those people account with the revenue for malting, only about 50 or 60 barrels per annum, though they must necessarily malt a much greater quantity.

Next tax would be an additional duty on teas. This, he said, would be only restoring a revenue which was lost in consequence of the fall of teas, for some years back, by which a good deal of that article came to be sold at a price so low, as exempted it from a duty it had formerly paid. The additional duty he meant to propose was, an halfpenny per pound on tea at two shillings, and three halfpence on tea at four shillings and upwards. The produce of this, he thought, would be 6000*l.*

An additional duty of 6*d.* per pack on cards, and 5*s.* on dice, would be 3,500*l.*

These were additional duties; another which he had to propose was new—a tax upon leather. He proposed to lay one penny per pound on tanned leather, by which he was led to believe, the quality of the leather brought to market would be much improved, as it would induce the tanners to bring their hides to market as dry as possible, and cleared of the useless parts which were now sold with the hides.

The mode of estimating the produce of this duty was, by the quantity of bark imported, which is 150,000 barrels, each of which tans 48 pounds of leather, each barrel would then produce 4*s.* which, on the whole, would be 30,000*l.*

The effects of this tax on the trade he would wish to compensate hereafter, by allowing a bounty on the importation of bark, of about 16 or 18 pence per barrel; particularly on German and American bark.

By preventing the frauds at present committed in collecting the 6 per cent duties, by persons calling themselves wholesale merchants, who are not so, he estimated that a saving might be made of 6000*l.*

Another new tax he meant to offer was one on receipts and bills of exchange. This he adopted because, of all the late taxes in England, it was the least complained of. The English tax on

bills of exchange was 6s. on bills under 50*l.* and 1s. on those above that sum; he proposed only the half of them, namely, 3*d.* on all bills under 50*l.* and 6*d.* on all above. In England, bills under 40s. were excepted, he would except all under 10*l.* and that when under 20*l.* they should only be 1½*d.* On receipts, he proposed 2*d.* on receipts for 20*l.* and under, and 4*d.* on receipts for sums exceeding 20*l.*: sums under 10*l.* to be exempted. Those two duties would be about 10,000*l.* and the sum of all he had yet mentioned about 93,000*l.* For the deficiency of 100,000*l.* he meant to lay an additional duty on carriages, in order to shew the people the House was ready to tax themselves. The advance he designed was two guineas on every four-wheeled carriage, which would make the whole duty six guineas; and on every two-wheeled carriage he would raise the present duty of 16s. 3*d.* to 1*l.*

If these were agreeable to the House, he would now propose them, except that on leather, which he would postpone till another day, to give gentlemen time to consider of it. If any gentleman could point out any efficient mode of taxation which would bear lighter than this on the people, he would most readily adopt it.

Mr. VANDELEUR declared his hearty concurrence in voting taxes for the support of the present war, which he considered a war for the preservation of property and of social government; but he heartily disapproved of that on leather, which, he said, would bear principally and oppressively on the lower classes of the people, whereas, the war being a war for the preservation of property, should principally fall on those who possessed property. Of the malt-tax he heartily approved, as levied on the immorality of the people; he observed it was one of those which a right hon. friend of his [Mr. Grattan] had originally proposed, all whose ideas originated in the purest principles, and at length came to be adopted.

He then stated, that a reduction of the duties on foreign spirits was absolutely necessary to amend our revenue, which on those articles had declined to a mere trifle, and to restore the trade to the fair trader, which the high duty has thrown into the hands of smugglers. The quantity of brandy imported

In 1786,	was	396,457	gallons,
1791	—	213,000	ditto,
1792	—	142,000	ditto,
1793	—	63,000	ditto.

French brandy cannot now be imported, but in 1792, one half of the importation was from Spain. Our rum trade has declined in

as great proportion. In 1786, the quantity of rum imported was 1,033,000 gallons,

In 1791	893,000 ditto,
1792	628,000 ditto,
1793	559,000 ditto,

He proposed to them to adopt the measures which had been so successful last year with respect to tobacco; the duty had been reduced a third, and it was the only object where the revenue had risen above the last year. A similar measure had been adopted in England at the instance of the revenue committee, and attended with the best effects.

He mentioned, that he considered the collection of the revenue as affording a large fund for a future supply. The commissioners of the treasury, if they did justice to their own characters, would direct a strict examination into the expenditure, and make every possible retrenchment. It appeared to him, that a saving of 90,000*l.* a year might be made. The collection of the revenue cost, from 1750 to 1764, from nine to ten per cent.; from 1764 to 1770, from eleven to thirteen; from 1770 to 1774, fourteen; and in 1775, it rose to sixteen per cent.

Now the expence of collection must be proportionate to the amount of the revenue;—a great revenue can be collected at a lower per centage, which makes the revenue of England cost but seven per cent.—But, though our revenue cannot be collected as cheap as that of England, yet it ought to be collected cheaper than that of 1760;—if then you collect it as cheap in 1760, the difference between sixteen per cent. its present expence, and ten per cent. that of 1760, will be on 1,500,000*l.* a saving of 90,000*l.* a fund sufficient to carry on the war, without imposing new burthens on the people.

He then proposed a permanent, unalienable sinking fund, as the only means of saving the nation from those difficulties which have plunged France into her present situation; and enervated the arm of Holland, so as to make her a mendicant for protection among the nations of Europe.

Sir L. PARSONS acceded to all taxes except that on leather, to which however he would also accede, if the common wear of the poor (brogues) could be exempted.

Mr. BERESFORD shewed, that the tax would operate beneficially for the poor, by giving them better leather.

He replied to Mr. Vandeleur. to prove that the dearthness of the collection of the revenue was owing to the officers being too few, and of course unable to prevent frauds, by which the revenue suffered a loss of ten fold what was saved in the pay of officers. Lowering the duty on foreign spirits, while additional

burthens were laid on our own, would, he thought, annihilate our own distillery.

The question on the malt duty was now put and carried, when

Colonel BLAQUIERE rose and said, he heard gentlemen talk much about the poor;—he would propose to gentlemen what would be a more effectual relief to them, than objecting to the tax on leather. Let every member of that House send for each of his tenants who paid him under forty pounds a year, and refund him three shillings of his last September's rent. There was not a man among them, he said, who, in case of commotion, could find fifty followers on his estate perfectly attached to the constitution.—What had the poor to defend?—Was it because their landlord now and then gave them a dinner, or treated them civilly when he met them, that they should be attached to him?—He thought there was no way left but that which he proposed, to secure the kingdom. The French were meditating something wicked;—they talked of England, indeed, but did not say a word of Ireland, whence he inclined to believe it was this country they meant to visit;—half the nation were attached to them—[Here, a cry of No! No!]
—he would be right if he had said more than half.

He was called to order by the Hon. Mr. Wesley and Mr. B. Conyngham, who said, he did not think a man without any property or stake in the country, should be thus permitted to hold up a standard of rebellion, by propagating the idea that the landlords of the country were oppressive. He knew no country where they were less so.

Colonel BLAQUIERE explained, that he had no such intention to call the landlords oppressive.

Mr. VANDELEUR suggested, that it would be equitable to lay a smaller additional tax on the carriages of those who possessed but one, and to compensate it by a greater tax on those keeping two.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER denied that an additional tax of two guineas could be any inconvenience to a man keeping a carriage, but he was willing to lay a greater tax on those who kept two.—He therefore moved, that the additional tax on carriages of those who kept two, should be three guineas.

The motion was agreed to.

The other motions were then put, and carried without further debate, after which the committee went through some of the ordinary taxes.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1794.

Mr. BARRINGTON moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend and explain an act passed in the 33d year of his present Majesty's reign, entitled, "An act for the relief of insolvent debtors, in respect to the imprisonment of their persons."—Leave given.

He also moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the law for allowing persons to carry on the pawnbroking business.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER observed, that allowing persons to carry on the business of a pawnbroker, ought to be made either a source of revenue, or be attended with less loss to the poor who may have occasion to resort to them for a temporary supply.

He said, that in other countries it was the state that advanced money on pledges;—and he hoped that the hon. gentleman would frame his bill in such a manner as would answer either one or other of the purposes he mentioned.

Mr. BARRINGTON said, that the business of pawnbrokers, as at present carried on, was severely felt by the poor, and in many instances it could be proved, that the pawnbrokers had a profit of 100 per cent.

After some conversation, leave was given to bring in the bill.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1794.

The Post-office bill read a third time, and passed.

The House then resolved into a committee of ways and means.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved the new taxes, which were postponed for consideration on Wednesday; and first, that of one penny per pound on the several various kinds of tanned leather.

Mr. DUQUERY said, he would be glad to know if the right hon. gentleman had calculated how heavily this tax would weigh on the poor of the country, and from what data he had estimated the produce of it. To him it appeared, that it would produce near three-fold as much as the right hon. gentleman had stated it at.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER replied, that he had calculated the produce of the tax from the quantity of bark im-

ported, which was 150,000 barrels last year, each of which he had been informed tanned 48 pounds of leather on an average; this would produce 30,000*l.* He allowed the other 5000*l.* of the sum at which he fixed the produce of the tax, for that leather which is tanned by Irish bark. He thought this a fair mode of calculating it; and as to the effect of the tax on the poor, he did think it would be very great; could he have found any efficient tax likely to oppress them less, he would gladly have adopted it.

Mr. DUQUERY conceived that by this mode of calculation, the produce of the tax was very much under-rated, for it was only in towns near the coast that foreign bark was principally used in tanning; in the interior part of the country, the process was chiefly carried on with Irish bark. The candour of the right hon. baronet had allowed gentlemen time to consider the nature of this tax; he had employed his time in examining what the probable pressure of it on the poor might be. He had got a pair of shoes, such as are commonly worn by the poor, weighed, and found their weight to be 2lb. 11oz. The weight of that species which is called brogues, he found to be somewhat lighter than the strongest kind of shoes, they weighed but 2lb. 4oz. The tax on the leather in each pair of these, was therefore at least 2½*d.*—this is the tax on the leather in its first state, but the additional price on the poor man who consumes will be much more. The leather will pass first to the currier, who will have his profit; the leather-cutter will then have his, and finally, the shoe-maker. The right hon. gentleman must agree, that the tax on the *primum* of the manufacture will be increased at least two-fold, before it comes to the consumer, who will thus be obliged to pay 4*d.* or 5*d.* additional on every pair of shoes or brogues he shall wear.

It is a matter of pride in this country, said Mr. Duquery, to wear shoes. When not able even to afford them six days in the week, the family are dressed in shoes at least on Sunday. He begged pardon of the right hon. gentleman opposite to him [Mr. Sec. Douglas] for explaining to him the poverty of the people of Ireland. The smallest family would therefore pay annually, not less than half a crown tax on shoe leather, and this in a country, where last year a very large proportion of them were declared by the legislature unable to pay 2*s.* The tax was injudicious in another point of view, for it would fall on the poor in a greater proportion than on the rich. The bad and the good leather equally was to pay this one penny per pound. Of the bad kind were made the shoes and brogues of the poor;—they, therefore, must wear faster than those worn by the richer people, and as the tax was on the weight, the poor must therefore pay a greater proportion than the opulent. The poor in the country

do not wear shoes every day—the poor of Dublin do;—the tax therefore would be to them peculiarly distressing; one good consequence only would result from it, that of keeping the wretch at home by keeping him barefoot, and thus preventing him from being importunate in crying for relief. The right honourable gentlemen had asked, whether any gentleman had any other taxes to propose?—For himself, he did not think himself a man of sufficient weight in the House to propose a tax; yet, if he might presume, he would ask why plated goods should not be made an object of taxation in preference to leather? they were a luxury, a false and ostentatious luxury. Why not tax French wines? What treaty could exist between these two kingdoms and one with which they are at war, which should secure to the produce of that other an exemption from impost? Why not lay a tax of one shilling in the pound on pensions—on the salaries of sinecure officers—on the many that are fed by the state for doing very little? No man surely who derived from the public 500*l.* or 1000*l.* annually, could object to contribute 500 or 1000 shillings for the service of the public.

Besides the objections which he had already mentioned against this tax, there was another which was of very considerable weight, and that was, that as much leather was made use of in the various occupations of husbandry, this tax would operate against agriculture.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he was as ready as any man to agree to a tax on places of emolument, but did not see why professional men ought not to contribute in that way as well as placemen. [Mr. Duquerry expressed his readiness to concur in the idea.] As for the tax now before the committee, he could not persuade himself it was likely to press so heavy on the poor as the hon. gentleman had represented it. He was convinced that shoes did not weigh on an average as much as the hon. gentleman had mentioned. Thin soles generally wore as well as thick, and there could be little doubt but when the leather was taxed by weight, means would be found to make it weigh much lighter than at present, by bringing it to market in a perfectly dry state. The operation of the tax, he thought, would rather be to introduce improvement into the manufacture, than to raise the price of the material. He illustrated by stating a fact, that raw hides exported to England from hence, are manufactured there, pay double freight backwards and forwards, and a duty of an halfpenny per pound, and yet the Englishman, by his superior mode of manufacturing, finds himself able to undersell the Irishman in the Irish market. The circumstance of the tax bearing in some measure on the poor, was no good argument against it, if we judge from the practice of England, for their paupers are never exempted from taxes on the consumption of any commodity;—in the misfortunes of the state, men of every description

must necessarily bear a share. The hon. gentleman had talked of a tax upon French wines: at present, there were none coming in; and therefore such a tax could not be productive. It would be improper too, because we are now at war with France to forfeit a very advantageous treaty, by which we may again profit on the return of peace. Besides, by the French treaty, the commerce between us and Portugal is regulated, and if the treaty were violated in one instance, it could not hold in the other. In a word, he was convinced that some discontent must necessarily be expressed somewhere against every new tax: he had received this day many applications against all the newly proposed taxes, but this was natural. He was nevertheless convinced, that this, of all other taxes, was the most likely to counteract its own ill effects, nay, in consequence of the bounty on imported bark, by which it was to be accompanied, he had hoped that leather, instead of being raised in price by the tax, would be lowered. As to the tax on plated articles, which had been mentioned, it was such a one as would only lead to retaliation on the part of Great Britain, from whence most of the goods in that way are imported. Much had been said of the propriety of taxing articles of luxury; he had been asked frequently since Wednesday, why he had not laid 50*l.* a piece on carriages, instead of two guineas. There were two reasons—first, because the imposition of extravagantly high taxes always counteracts itself; and if he had laid an imposition so great on any article of luxury, it would be in a great measure given up, and the tax would therefore become unproductive.—Another reason was, that his object was to raise money for the state, not to punish any particular description of men, or any particular enjoyment.—His duty was to procure cash, not to promote morality. If the circumstances of the country should at a future day be such as would make it possible to dispense with any of these taxes, no man would be more happy than he in removing them, but he could not help saying, there was little likelihood such a time would shortly arrive; there was indeed no probability of it until a system of national education should be adopted, and a sinking fund established for removing the public debt.

He concluded by observing, that the strongest argument possible in favour of this tax was, that at the time when he proposed it, there was not a single disapproving voice in the House. The hon. gentleman came now, for the first time, with information which he had acquired out of doors, to object to it.

Mr. DUQUERY acknowledged that he did get his information out of doors, nor could he have acquired it elsewhere: he was not bred to the business of tanning, and therefore could know nothing of the subject but what he derived from the information of others.—He acknowledged that the tax on plated goods might have some unpleasant effects, if adopted, but was of opinion that the

tax now in contemplation would be well changed for a tax on shoes when finished, and above the value of six shillings—He thought a tax on hats of a certain price would also be eligible; and as a tax on professional men had been alluded to, he had no objection to it—he would approve most heartily of a tax on full-bottom wigs, whether on professional men or others.

Mr. SAUNDERS conceived that there could be no better tax thought of—one which would be more productive, or less invidious—than one on absentees.

Colonel BLAQUIERE said he had some taxes to propose, which he thought would meet much better countenance from the House than what he had advanced the other night—these were stamp taxes on hats, proportioned to their price, which he moved.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER appeared very willing to take these taxes; and the question on them was put, when

Mr. GRAYDON enquired whether he would take them in lieu of that on leather.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he would have no objection, if the tax were likely to be productive;—he desired it might be tried for a year, and if it should be found to produce, he would have no objection to taking it for some other less oppressive;—at present, he could not think of giving up a tax, certainly productive, for an uncertain one.

Mr. GRAYDON would acquiesce in no tax designed to be added to those already brought forward by the servants of the crown.

The tax now proposed he thought the worst that could possibly be offered, as it was laid on a manufacture already declining;—it was declining, because for several years, except the last two, the import of tanned leather had encreased;—the English have taken our hides, manufactured them, sent them back, and yet been able to undersell us in our markets. The imposition of a new tax on the manufacture thus declining, will tend still more to weaken and embarrass it, while an equal impost on the flourishing manufacture of England will not affect it. Had the bounty on bark, which was now offered, been given some years ago, when it was earnestly solicited and refused, it would have benefited—preserved—the manufacture; it now came too late when the manufacture was not able to bear it.

Mr. BERESFORD read some abstracts, to shew that the manufacture was not in the declining state in which it was represented to be.

Mr. VANDELEUR spoke against the tax, on the ground that it would prevent men of property from engaging in the tanning business, where large property was essential, by subjecting them to the odious visits of the excise officer.

He would propose a tax (if the Chancellor would promise not to add it to the one he complained of) which would be more productive, would not bear on the poor, and would be more easily collected—it was a tax of two shillings on all houses with more than one hearth. He shewed the superior excellence of this tax, and was answered by the

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, who feared this tax would not be so productive as the hon. gentleman hoped—as people, having houses with only two hearths, would be induced probably to shut up one of them, in order to avoid as well this tax as the increased hearth-tax of last year, and thus, instead of gaining by this tax, the country would lose by it. He thought too, that it would not be considered as quite equitable, that the greatest houses in the kingdom should pay no more than the least. As to the feelings of the people on the subject of this, it did not occur to him that they would be so sore as gentlemen wished to represent them. The people were generally well affected, and not to be irritated by such circumstances.

Colonel BLAQUIERE having withdrawn his motion, the proposed tax of the Chancellor was agreed to by the committee.

He then proceeded to move the tax on bills of exchange, promissory notes, &c.—6*d.* on every bill and note at and over 50*l.*; 3*d.* for every one over 10*l.* and under 50*l.*; 1½*d.* for every one under 10*l.*; with an exemption of those under 5*l.*

Mr. BAGWELL wished to know whether bankers notes were included in this general description.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER could not yet give a determinate answer to this question. There would be various exceptions in the bill, and all the exceptions in the English act should be adopted. Nothing, however, should be done by surprise.

The tax was agreed to by the committee. He then moved the receipt tax—viz. 2*d.* on every receipt for a sum above 10*l.* and under 20*l.*; and 4*d.* for every receipt for greater sums.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1794.

A petition of the manufacturers concerned in the cotton spinning business of the city of Dublin and its vicinity, whose names

are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that they have been much alarmed by seeing in the votes of the House of Commons a petition of certain muslin manufacturers, callico printers and importers of spun cotton, praying that cotton yarn of whatever denomination may be admitted from Great Britain into this country, duty free; the petitioners have expended at sundry times a principal part of their properties in buildings and machinery, being encouraged thereto by bounties and duties, whereby in a few years they have brought the spinning branch of the cotton manufacture to a considerable degree of perfection; that if Parliament continues that fostering aid, protection and encouragement, hitherto experienced by this rising branch of manufacture, they have no doubt, from the number of mills and other machinery lately erected and now erecting in several parts of this kingdom, peculiarly adapted for the purpose of spinning fine yarn (the only article the petitioners apprehend there has been any reason to complain of) they will be able in a short time fully to supply this market; that the petitioners, have on a moderate calculation, expended in machinery upwards of 30,000*l.* (exclusive of buildings) which have employed above four thousand persons, on whose labour eight thousand more depended for support; that two-thirds of their machinery are now idle, and have been so upwards of twelve months past, and they fear the remainder will be totally unemployed if the prayer of the petition for taking off the duty on cotton yarn be complied with; that the difference between the price of cotton wool here and in England, being on an average about one-eighth in favour of the English spinner, he is thereby enabled, though subject to the duty of ten per cent, to meet the Irish in their own market; and therefore praying the House to take the premises into consideration, and continue the present duties on cotton yarn.

Ordered, That the said petition be referred to the committee appointed to take into consideration the petition of the other cotton manufacturers.

An engrossed bill for granting to his Majesty for one year the duties therein mentioned on fire-hearths, in lieu of all duties payable on the same prior to or during the said term, was read the third time and passed.

A bill for granting for one year the several duties therein mentioned in lieu of all other duties payable upon the articles therein specified during the said term, and for continuing the effect of the treaty of commerce and navigation signed at Versailles on the 26th day of September, 1786, between his Majesty and the Most Christian King, and for regulating the trade between this kingdom and his Majesty's colonies, and for other purposes therein mentioned; was received, and read the first time.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1794.

No debate.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1794.

Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL presented a bill to prevent the money and effects of persons resident in France, now in the hands of his Majesty's subjects, from being applied to the use of persons exercising the powers of government in France, and for preserving the property for the individual owners thereof.—It was read a first time.

The committee of ways and means sat again; when the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved,

1. A double duty on deals and barks imported, which shall be of double the scantling of that which now pays duty; as he thought it unjust that a double length and thickness should pay only the same duty with a single.

2. A duty of one penny per pound on all leather imported from Great Britain.

3. A duty of three half-pence per pound on all leather imported from any other country.

4. A duty of three pence per pound on all British or other leather imported, that shall be imported manufactured into boots or shoes.

But to counter-balance the tax on our manufacture of leather, a bounty of 2*s.* a barrel will be paid on the importation of bark from any part of Europe; and of 3*s.* per barrel if imported from America.

5. A duty of one penny per ton on all ships and vessels (except coasters) that shall enter any port of Ireland, except Dublin.—This tax to be appropriated to the erecting light-houses on the sea coasts.

Immediately after the report from the committee of ways and means, Sir L. Parsons drew a melancholy picture of the present dangerous state of the nation, both as to want of artillery and disciplined troops, for which he arraigned the ministry, whose only object, he said, was to keep from the knowledge of the nation its real defenceless state. He detailed, on the other hand, the naval force of France, and sundry other matters.

Mr. Secretary DOUGLAS replied, and defended the administration from the charge of supineness or deception. He said he had in contemplation the idea mentioned some days since on the other side of the house, namely, the raising independent companies.

Sir L. PARSONS then declared that he would bring forward, to-morrow, a specific motion.

Mr. CORRY besought the hon. baronet not to agitate in the house, on a point that could not only do no good, but might be productive of much hurt, if the business went abroad. We either were or were not in a state of proper defence. If we were proved to be in a full state of force, the motion would be futile; and if we were not, a knowledge of our condition would only serve to invite an invasion. The best measure would be to communicate in private any idea or intelligence he had, and they would be then of real utility, and meet with every respect and attention.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1794.

A petition of the Company of Undertakers of the Grand Canal, under their common seal, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that in the 1772 the petitioners were incorporated for the purpose of making a canal from the city of Dublin to the river Shannon, and are now prosecuting that great work with the utmost diligence, and expect to accomplish the same within three years; that previous to the incorporation of the Petitioners, certain public commissioners, under the authority of Parliament, expended very considerable sums of the public money to complete the navigation of the said river Shannon from the city of Limerick to the source thereof, and a power was vested in them by law to levy certain tolls on all boats passing on the said river; and it was enacted, that no other toll should be paid for navigating the same, save such as was appointed under the said act, and that such toll should be applied in repairing and keeping up the several locks and other works which should be made upon the said river, and to no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever; that when the petitioners were incorporated, and said commissioners were proceeding in the completion of the navigation of the said river at the public expence, and the petitioners undertook the said canal in confidence, that when the same should communicate with the said river, they should find the said river rendered completely navigable at the public expence, and free

from any tolls, save such as were applicable to and necessary for keeping the same in repair; that a petition having lately been presented to the House to vest the navigation of the said river from Lough Allen to Killaloe in certain persons therein named, on the terms of granting them the right of receiving one penny a ton a mile tolls on the river, and a farthing a ton a mile on the lakes, the petitioners made opposition thereto, and informed the committee, to which the said petition was referred, that notwithstanding the just reason which the petitioners had to expect, that on finishing their canal they should find the navigation of the said river completed at the public expence and free from tolls, yet, that under the present circumstances, the petitioners were ready to make to the House a proposal for completing the navigation thereof more advantageous to the public than that which was then before the said committee; in conformity to which the petitioners are willing, and now propose, to undertake the completion of the said navigation from Killaloe to Lough Allen within seven years, on the following terms, viz. that they shall have a right of levying tolls not exceeding one penny per ton per mile on the river, but no tolls on the lakes; that turf, marle, lime, limestone-gravel, and other manures, be toll free on the rivers as well as lakes, and that no more than one shilling per ton be collected on coals, culm or iron ore for any distance those articles may be carried on the said river Shannon, provided the same shall be afterwards carried twenty miles on any canal or navigation leading to the city of Dublin; and that pleasure boats, registered as such, do pass toll free, except at the locks, where they shall pay six-pence for every time they pass the same; and the petitioners having been informed, that the persons presenting the aforesaid petition had proposed, that the tolls to be made payable to them should be subject to redemption by Parliament, on payment of the sums they should expend thereon, and interest, (exclusive of the tolls they might in the intervals receive) together with a further sum of 25,000*l.* as a bounty for their risk, the petitioners now also propose, that the tolls above-mentioned shall be subject to redemption by Parliament, or by the Limerick Navigation Company, or by the Royal Canal Company, on payment to the petitioners of the sums they shall expend on the said navigation, and interest, not exceeding the principal sum of 60,000*l.* (exclusive of the tolls they may in the interval receive) at any period within three years after the completion of the said navigation, and without any bounty or consideration for their risk, provided the said tolls to be levied on the river after such redemption shall not exceed one-eighth part of the tolls to be so granted to the petitioners, and that such one-eighth part shall not exceed in the whole six-pence a ton for any distance; and the petitioners beg leave to represent, that when the canals now making by the Limerick Navigation Company from Killaloe to

Limerick, and by the petitioners from Dublin to the Shannon, shall be completed, the completion of the navigation of the said river from Killaloe to Lough Allen, will most essentially tend to the advancement of the agriculture, commerce and manufactures of this kingdom, inasmuch as the neighbourhood of the said river abounds with collieries, mines of iron of superior quality, fire-stone, fire-clay, pipe-clay for potteries, and quarries of marble and slate, and the said river for an extent of one hundred and thirteen miles from Lough Allen to Killaloe, (exclusive of the rivers Brusna, Suck, Inney, Carnlin, Curnadoe, Boyle, and various other off-branches to the adjoining counties) passes in the centre of the kingdom through some of the most fertile districts of Leinster, Connaught and Munster, most part of which at present are uncultivated, the expence of land carriage rendering agriculture less profitable to the farmer than pasturage; and the petitioners are not desirous of making any other profit or advantage to themselves by undertaking the navigation of the said river, save that which may result to their said canal, if the said river shall, by parliamentary redemption or otherwise, become toll free; and, therefore praying the House to take the premises into consideration, and to act therein as to the House shall seem meet.

The petition was referred to the consideration of a committee.

The American trade-bill was presented, and read a first time.

Mr. Sec. DOUGLAS informed the House, that, in pursuance of the wishes of a right hon. gentleman, he had bestowed mature consideration on the propriety of enabling his Majesty to raise independent regiments for the defence of this kingdom, and having consulted his Majesty's servants, he could now determine, that such a measure is now—"not necessary."

Sir L. PARSONS said, that he had given notice, that he would bring forward a specific motion on the putting this kingdom in a complete state of defence; but on consulting with several gentlemen, and hoping what had passed already in the House on that subject, had roused the attention of both the ministry and the country gentlemen, he would now relinquish his intended motion.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1794.

Mr. GRATTAN, after some preliminary observations respecting the customs payable on Irish manufactures when imported into England, and on British manufactures when imported into Ire-

land, moved to resolve, that it would tend to the advantage of both kingdoms, if Irish manufactures should be admissible into Britain according to the tariff settled in Ireland, for duties payable on the importation of English commodities. He said, it was his first idea to have moved an address to the Crown for this purpose, but it would be more respectful to the House to bring it on in the present form.

Mr. Sec. DOUGLAS paid many compliments to the abilities and patriotism of Mr. Grattan, but was too recent an inhabitant of this kingdom to have acquired such a knowledge of its commerce, to be able to debate a motion of such importance; beside, he thought the present time rather unfit to agitate a matter that might tend to irritate, and by the past conduct of Great Britain it appeared, that she was cordially affected to Ireland, and might of herself do every thing that this motion required.—For these reasons, he moved the question of adjournment.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER expressed his hearty acquiescence with the principle of the motion, which seemed to be admitted unanimously by the whole House. He instanced, as a proof of the good-will of Great Britain, the construction of the navigation act, according to the wishes of Ireland: he agreed with the motion of adjournment.

Mr. DUQUERY said, the right hon. gentleman who had proposed the resolution had brought it forward with that temperance, and accurate knowledge of the subject, becoming the representative of the first city in the kingdom. The right hon. member was one who deserved the gratitude of the country, and he was sure no idle compliment from either one side of the House or the other would make him swerve from his duty. But he professed himself astonished at the conduct of a right hon. gentleman on the opposite side of the bench [Sec. Douglas] in moving the previous question, on a proposition for opening the ports of Great Britain to the manufacture of Ireland. He was sorry it did not occur to the noble lord who preceded him in office, to move the previous question on the India bill. He was sure none of the members who attended the debate on that bill, could forget the expressions of the noble lord, then ostensible minister—that if the House consented to the act like men of honour, and like Irishmen, he was sure British magnanimity would not hesitate to concede equality of commerce.—He recollected well the noble lord said, that he could not deliver the sentiments of the British cabinet on the subject, but if, in our concession of the India trade, nothing of a petty bargain should appear, he was sure every reasonable request of Ireland would be acceded to by Great Britain. The right hon. gentleman who has succeeded him, now tells the House, the question has become irritating in

the sister country; Great Britain, however, was not irritated when we surrendered up to her the India trade.

Will any man tell that House, that Great Britain is of so haughty a character, that she must be fawned upon, and courted to do justice?—He did not blame, he said, the right hon. gentleman for moving the question of adjournment.—From his manner, he seemed to do it with regret and concern. He considered him only as the commissioner of the British cabinet, in whose councils he did not share, and who is only to execute their orders as directed. It would be therefore unjust to attach any blame to him. If the House should accede to the resolution, we would not thereby get the British tariff:—it must be considered first by the parliament of England; and if it appeared improper to them, they would stop it *in limine*. In voting for the resolution, the House would give to the British parliament an opportunity of discussing the question, and of exposing that commercial folly, which it was said existed. He thought, therefore, they ought not to adjourn the question, until a comprehension of mind was restored to the people of Great Britain.

He did not doubt, he said, but Great Britain had a regard for Ireland: she ought to have it. If she had been formerly impressed with the same sentiments, she would at the present day be the most powerful empire on the earth. At that inauspicious period, when the woollen trade of Ireland was surrendered to British monopoly, there were but 34 gentlemen in this House to come forward in behalf of their country: and if the House should this night vote for the question of adjournment, he did not think they would be much better. He could not help impressing on the mind of the right hon. gentlemen the injustice of admitting France to commercial advantages from which Ireland is excluded. To give, he said, an idea of the commercial disadvantages under which Ireland labours, in her intercourse with England, it might not be unnecessary to state a few items from the tariffs of both countries. How then stand the tariffs on woollen cloths, or what is called old drapery?—In Great Britain, there is an import duty of 2*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* per yard on Irish woollens; while the duty on English woollens imported into Ireland, amounts to no more than 5½*d.* per yard!—On woollen stuffs and mixed goods, or what is called new drapery, the same system of hostility to the manufactures of Ireland has been followed by the parliament of Great Britain. The import duty from Ireland into England is 6*s.* per yard; and from Great Britain here, only 1½*d.* Cotton goods were admitted here at a duty of 10 per cent.—in England the duty is 30 per cent. Printed linens, notwithstanding all that is said of the protection afforded by Great Britain to the linen manufacture of Ireland, are subject to an import duty there of 65 per cent. while here they are admitted at 10 per cent. One manufacture has been considered sufficient for upwards of

four millions of people ; but he would beg to know, was not such a disproportion of duties calculated to destroy even that ? Ireland had not, he said, been more than thirty years in possession of the manufacture of printed linens, when England laid on a heavier duty, to enable her to rival us.—After trying the experiment, she found she could not ; and the consequence was, that the trade went into the hands of the Germans, the Hollanders, and the Swifs. Thus the trade was lost to Ireland, without being the smallest advantage to Great Britain. The manufacture of sail-cloth in like manner, was rising in this country, about the year 1750, to a very flourishing state, until checked by the monopolizing spirit of England ; which, however, has not been productive to the latter nation of any advantage. So that Ireland might, with respect to these particulars, tell Great Britain, you have “robbed us of that which nought enriches you, but makes us poor indeed.”

He observed that when, in the year 1785, this nation was given to understand that a commercial adjustment with Great Britain was about to take place, 140,000*l.* annually, of new taxes, were imposed on that presumption ; and to this day the nation remains without any equivalent. We cheerfully acceded, last sessions of parliament, to the monopoly of the India Company for 21 years, and at that time the noble lord who conducted the affairs of government, said the accommodation should take place.

Mr. Duquery having made a short pause, and Mr. J. C. Berresford having called out “Question, question,”

Mr. Duquery proceeded, and said, he made no doubt but some gentlemen would be highly gratified that the sessions should pass over without any debate : these might, however, find themselves disappointed. Nations, he said, were born to assist nations, in like manner as men were born to assist men : and the more exactly Great Britain and Ireland squared their reciprocal commercial and political intercourse by this maxim, the more prosperous would be the common affairs of both.—England was peculiarly adapted to the manufacture of fine woollen cloths, and might, therefore, leave to Ireland the advantages on coarse woollens. It begins now to be known, that the spirit of monopoly is as injurious to trade, as that of conquest is to the happiness of society. It is better for mankind to assist each other, than destroy each other. The tendency to the former is natural to the human heart, and is done by the wisdom of God ; the latter proceeds only from the depraved policy of man. The consequence of depriving Ireland of the woollen manufacture was to throw that trade directly into the hands of France, to the detriment of Great Britain. And Sir Matthew Decker, than whom no higher authority on the subject of trade can be adduced, is of opinion, that the rivalry of France would not have become so

formidable to Great Britain, but for the restrictions laid on the woollen trade of Ireland; and if the two nations would not suffer themselves to be divided in sentiment on account of the narrow gut of ocean which separates them, they would both become more great and prosperous.—This session a great subsidy had, he said, been voted to Great Britain, for the purpose of carrying on the war with the greater effect.—Are we then to be joined in war with Great Britain, but excluded from her commerce:—The linen manufacture may, perhaps, be sufficient for Ulster; but is Munster to droop in poverty?—He entertained too high an opinion of the British ministers, to think they would yield to the folly of the manufacturers, or be thereby induced to postpone measures, that they must be convinced are for the common interest of the empire. When a commercial adjustment was in discussion in the year 1785, the British manufacturers only mentioned their doubts to the ministry, with respect to the manufactures of glass, pottery, and a few other trifling articles. He would be glad to know what new circumstance had produced the present alleged irritation? The resolution proposed by the right hon. gentleman did not go to agitate any political question. It went only to procure the British duties to be lowered to the Irish tariff, which must be finally adjusted in the parliament of Great Britain. And he thought that in voting the resolution, we were but doing our duty as the representatives of Ireland.

Mr. VANDELEUR said that the year 1779, when this question was first brought forward, was a period of more anxiety to Great Britain than the present. The right hon. gentleman may, therefore, be under no apprehension to permit the question to go before the British Parliament. It cannot prove irritating to any British manufacturer of understanding. The woollen trade of Ireland being now reduced to a very low state, he could not believe the assertion founded, that the agitation of the present question had caused irritation in the people of Great Britain:—but if it had, it ought to be finally settled.—Since the trade of Scotland had been relieved from restrictions, a new manufacture had arisen in that country without injuring the trade of England; and if the restrictions were taken off the Irish trade, the same thing might happen here.—Since 1779, when the first relaxation of the commercial restraints of Ireland took place, the manufactures of England had entered here in greater quantities than ever: so that, instead of being disadvantageous to Great Britain, it has been beneficial.—The yearly amount of the British manufactures imported here at that period amounted only to 300,000*l.* whereas last year they amounted to 800,000*l.* The opening therefore of the ports of Ireland to export her manufactures, has served England materially. After some observations, he concluded with saying, that if the right hon. gentleman would satisfy the House, that he would submit the case to the English Govern-

ment, he would be satisfied; otherwise he would vote for the question.

Mr. PONSONBY, Mr. CURRAN, and Mr. BROOKE supported the motion for passing the resolution; and the question being loudly called for,

Mr. GRATTAN said, that as both sides of the House seemed perfectly satisfied of the justice and propriety of the accommodation sought for, he would not therefore divide the House on the question, as it might imply a distraction of sentiment, which did not exist; although if the previous question was put on the resolution, he could not, for consistency sake, but vote against it.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1794.

The bill to continue an act for facilitating the trade and intercourse between this kingdom and the United States of America, was read a third time, and passed.

The bill for granting to his Majesty, his heirs, &c. the several duties therein mentioned, was introduced, and read a first time.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1794.

A bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters in this kingdom, was read a first time.

A petition of the tanners of the city and suburbs of Cork, who names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that since the making the late act of Parliament in this kingdom for the regulation of the tanning trade, the petitioners have strictly and chearfully conformed to the several requisitions thereof, and shall always be ready and willing to conform to such other regulations as Parliament shall, in their wisdom and discretion, think expedient and necessary; that the petitioners have been informed, that it is intended to introduce a bill for imposing a tax of one penny in the pound on leather; that before such bill shall be carried through its several stages, the petitioners beg leave to remonstrate against the injurious consequences which must necessarily arise to the manufacturers of leather in this kingdom from the said tax, unless in the formation of the bill imposing the same, or by such other means as the House shall think proper, provision can be made to put them upon an equal footing with those of England, so as to prevent the manufacturers of this kingdom from being underfold in their own markets by the English manufacturers; that it is a well known fact, that the manufacturers of this

kingdom have it not in their power to procure bark (which is for the most part imported from England) under at least fifty shillings per ton above the price the English manufacturers can buy it for in their own country, which, on a fair calculation, will make a difference of three halfpence per pound on tanned leather; that it seems not improbable that the English tanners, who shall send leather into this country, will consider themselves as exempt from the tax now intended; and, should that be the case, they will be further enabled to undersell the Irish tanners, and thereby increase the evil complained of; that the petitioners do not presume to militate against the intended tax, they only hope and humbly expect, that the House will adopt some measure or expedient whereby the English tanners may be prevented from underselling the Irish tanners in their own markets.

The petition was ordered to lie on the table.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1794.

Mr. MACARTNEY presented the report from the committee to whom was referred the petition of the Grand Canal Company, praying permission to open the navigation of the Shannon; which was, that the petitioners had proved their allegations.

The SPEAKER stated, that the committee should have enquired in the first instance, whether the petitioners had complied with the resolution of the House, of the 25th of March, 1788, which they had not stated by the report that they had done, which was a necessary preliminary to the receipt of the report.

Mr. MACARTNEY argued, that the petition did not come within the purview of these resolutions.

This brought on a conversation; in the course of which Mr. MARCUS BERESFORD said, that the petition brought in by the hon. gentleman, was brought in contrary to the uniform usage of Parliament, while another petition on the same subject and for the same purpose, brought in by another hon. gentleman, [Mr. Wolfe of Forenaughts] was pending in the House.

Mr. MACARTNEY defended himself against this charge, by alleging that he had heard it declared in the committee upon the other petition alluded to, that it was the intention of the petitioners to withdraw that petition; that he had waited one whole day and part of another for the hon. member, who he understood was to withdraw the petition; but not seeing him in the House, he had presented the one he had been requested to bring forward.

He knew of no such rule of parliamentary usage, as that laid down by the honourable and learned gentleman; nor did he understand that the interests of the public and the country were to give way to parliamentary etiquette; so, that if one man came forward to propose effecting a business for the nation for 100,000*l.* any other man must be precluded, by parliamentary etiquette, from coming forward with his proposal, even though it were to effect the same business for 10,000*l.*

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE was pointedly strenuous and severe against the powers to be conveyed to the Grand Canal Company, if their petition in this instance was complied with. Those powers would vest in the hands of that corporation a system of despotism, oppression, and tyranny, unequalled in the history of those countries, and unexampled in the annals of Europe. No man who resided within thirty, or even sixty miles of the Shannon, would be exempt from this species of oppression at their hands; they would be empowered not only to cut their way through every gentleman's mansion or his improvements, to take the water out of his rivers, and to tear up his best lands in search of gravel, but to force him to exhibit his title to his estate, and expose his property to sequestration; and to render this country no longer fit for a gentleman to reside in, it would subject even his own property to injury in the amount to 10,000*l.* He therefore besought the House to act with the becoming caution of a legislature watchful over the rights and properties of the country; and instanced the example of the British House of Commons, in the case of a gentleman who had appealed against the proceedings of a Canal Company, who brought their cut near his domain, at an expence of near 200,000*l.* The subject of his appeal was an apprehension that a spring, which supplied his kitchen with water, would be destroyed, and lost to the use of his family. The matter was brought to solemn hearing at the bar of the House of Commons; a vast deal of money was expended on both sides;—the Canal Company offered to deposit 100,000*l.* to be forfeited if the gentleman sustained the injury he apprehended, but the gentleman refused their tender, and persisted in his object; and the consequence was, that the House of Commons, so tenacious were they of the rights of an individual, that they would not suffer them to be infringed, and rejected the petition of the Canal Company.

Mr. MACARTNEY replied, that gentlemen seemed to think that inland navigations, which had heretofore been considered amongst the greatest national benefits, were now the greatest grievance that could exist in the country. In England there was one line of canal which extended above 200 miles through the country; there were a great number of other cuts within a

few years, and in the last session of Parliament, above ten different petitions were presented to the British House of Commons from other companies, for the purpose of obtaining permission to form new cuts; yet the people of England, he presumed, were as tenacious of having their rights encroached on as any people on earth. It was curious, he observed, to hear gentlemen from the north and the east, who were likely to be no way interested or affected by the question, argue against it; and yet, that gentlemen from the south and west, who were most likely to be affected by the measure, did not say a word against it.

MR. MARCUS BERESFORD declared, that before the House could agree to a motion like the present, they should rescind their former motion, for otherwise they would subject themselves to a charge of the grossest inconsistency. He could not suppose that the Shannon navigation could be put into more improper hands than those of the Grand Canal Company, whose conduct in many cases had been highly improper. He instanced the fact of a noble lord, lately a member of that House, [Lord Downshire] who had a mill on the ground on which they thought proper to make a cut. The mill produced his lordship sixty pounds a year, and the Company summoned a jury, who heard witnesses to prove that the estate would be so benefited by the navigation, as more than to compensate for the loss of the property upon which they awarded as a recompence, six-pence for an alienation of a fee-simple of sixty pounds per annum! For the barren heath and turf-bog in the neighbourhood they had given as much. He was severe upon the oppression committed by the Grand Canal Company in their corporate capacity. They often obliged a man to come into their terms by unprincipled juries, who would give a verdict of six-pence for the loss of as many thousands, by which the subject was obliged to subject his land to remain a desert or submit to a private agreement. No security had the individual for the fulfillment of their contract; if he applied to equity they could not be compelled to answer upon oath, but made out the strongest case for themselves that could possibly be put upon paper. Upon this they put the great seal of their corporation; and notwithstanding the most flagrant injustice, the victim of it too often experienced that his best remedy was to submit to the imposition in peace.

MR. MACARTNEY replied as to the case of the Marquis of Downshire. The jury were informed that the race of the mill in question often overflowed, and that thirty acres of land were laid under water in consequence. Of course, they supposed that the Canal by drawing off the super-abundant water would, instead

of a loss, be an advantage of 60*l.* per annum to his lordship; and upon that ground gave the award of six-pence damages.

Mr. WOLFE (of Forenaughts) complained much of an advantage taken in presenting a petition unknown to him and in his absence, on the same subject with that which he had previously presented, and which was not disposed of. He positively denied that any such argument was stated in the committee of which he was chairman, on that petition as that of withdrawing it. The petition, in that case, was signed by Mr. Griffith, for himself and others, whose real object it was to open the navigation of the river Shannon to the deep water above Killaloe; and, at so small a toll as a penny per ton per mile on the river, and a farthing per mile per ton on the lakes, which coming through a country abounding in provisions and the raw materials for manufactures, would have given to this country very important advantages.

But to commit the business of opening the navigation of that river to the Grand Canal Company, who are interested in keeping it shut, in order to carry on a cut of their own parallel to it, upon which they could charge a toll of three-pence per ton per mile, would in his mind be a measure equally improvident and regardless of the interests of this country.

Mr. VANDELEUR recommended to the House to suspend their decision on the subject, until the monied men of the country could be apprised of the object and its advantages, in order that the best possible terms might be obtained for the country.

It was at length agreed to suspend the report for a few days; and the House proceeded to the other orders of the day.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1794.

The House did not sit, on account of the Queen's birth-day.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1794.

Mr. DAY presented a bill for reviving and continuing certain temporary statutes; which was read a first time.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER also presented a bill for securing the payment of the annuities and of the interest upon the principal sums therein provided for, and towards the discharge of such principal sums in such manner as therein is directed, and for enabling the officers of his Majesty's treasury

to receive certain sums for a limited time in manner therein mentioned, and for granting to his Majesty a certain sum of money out of the consolidated fund, and for applying a certain sum of money therein-mentioned, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and for other purposes therein mentioned; which was received and read the first time.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1794.

A bill, entitled, an act for granting for one year the several duties therein mentioned, in lieu of all other duties payable upon the articles therein specified during the said term, and for continuing the effect of the treaty of commerce and navigation signed at Versailles, on the 26th day of September, 1786, between his Majesty and the Most Christian King, and for regulating the trade between this kingdom and his Majesty's colonies, and for other purposes therein-mentioned; was read a third time and passed:—Also, a bill for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, several duties therein-mentioned, to be levied by the commissioners for managing the stamp duties, was read the third time and passed.

The following bills were presented, and read a first time:

A bill to increase the salaries of clerks of the peace in counties where the police act has, or shall be carried into execution.

A bill to explain, amend and render more effectual, an act passed in the thirty-third year of his present Majesty's reign, entitled, an act for the relief of insolvent debtors in regard to the imprisonment of persons.

A bill to render the process of his Majesty's courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas in this kingdom more beneficial and effectual.

A bill for continuing an act passed last session of Parliament, entitled, an act for establishing regulations respecting aliens arriving in this kingdom, or resident therein in certain cases, and subjects of this kingdom who have served or are serving in foreign armies, and for continuing and amending another act passed in the same session of Parliament, entitled, an act to prevent the importation of arms, gunpowder and ammunition into this kingdom, and the removing and keeping of gunpowder, arms ammunition, without license.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1794.

Fast-day—no sitting.

SATURDAY, MARCH 1, 1794.

Mutiny bill read a third time and passed.

MONDAY, MARCH 3, 1794.

Sir H. CAVENDISH made his promised motion on the subject of defaulters. It was, "That the clerk do lay before the House a list of the names of such members of the House who have made default at different times, and have not paid their fees."

This motion having been agreed to, he spoke a short time to shew the necessity of enforcing the payment of those fees, on the ground that the dignity of the House was concerned in enforcing their own regulations, and that it was not at their discretion to omit enforcing them, as there was an act of Parliament which was mandatory on the House in this. He therefore followed up his first by a second motion, "That such members as were in default, and had not paid their fees before Friday next, should on that day attend in their places."

Mr. A. BROWNE opposed the motion. He said, he had always declared that he would not pay those fees till compelled to do so by a resolution of the House; and had done so, because he conceived, that it never was the intention of the law to throw so much money into the pocket of an officer. The business of the nation, he said, had never been impeded by a want of members, which was certainly what the act and resolution, imposing penalties for non-attendance, was meant to prevent.—He therefore saw no need whatsoever of fining the House of Commons in a sum of not less than 3000*l.* to enrich officers whose appointments he thought already somewhat too great. If, however, it was thought necessary to levy those fines, he, for one, would pay what was charged to him instantly, if it were appropriated, not to the private purse of an officer, but to the public use, at a time when the public were in so much need of every assistance.

He had already attended two committees this Parliament, and would have attended more if he had not been convinced that if every member did his duty, more could not have fallen to the lot

of any.—For this reason too, he thought himself justified in refusing to pay those demands. There was also another reason which had weighed with him, and that was, that he had heard a compromise for those fees had been made by the officers with certain gentlemen.

Mr. WESLEY supported the motion. He denied the fact that any compromise had been made by the officers with any gentlemen. The reason, he said, why the turn of duty so often came on some members, was because others had been defaulters, but they had paid for their neglect.

Mr. OSBORNE had also heard of the compromise, and was glad to hear it was unfounded. He was a friend to order, but he thought when the business of the House had not been impeded, that the slightest excuses from members should be admitted.

Mr. ARCHDALL supported the motion; as did

Sir J. BLAQUIERE, who urged that the fees were payable by act of Parliament, and therefore could not be remitted. As to the proposal of appropriating the money to the public service, he thought it would be voting away the private property of an individual, which the House had no right to do.

Mr. BARRINGTON was also for the motion, and thought that on this question no defaulter who had not paid his fees should vote—for *nemo in propria causa testis esse debet* was a principle of law and equity, which he was sure his hon. friend [Mr. Browne] would assent to.

The SPEAKER called on the House for assistance in this case; it appeared to him that those gentlemen who were in default, being virtually in custody, could not vote on a question concerning their own punishment.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL spoke warmly in defence of the motion, and said it could not be negatived without the repeal of an act of Parliament.

Mr. B. CONYNGHAM was of opinion, that the orders for taking defaulters into custody were superseded by every prorogation of Parliament.

Mr. M. MASON denied it, because the orders rested not on a resolution of the House, but an act of Parliament.

After a conversation, the question on Sir Henry's second motion was put, and carried without a division.

Mr. HANCOCK moved, that the Serjeant at Arms lay before the House an account of all sums received by him for fees from the commencement of this Parliament, specifying the names of those who paid, and also the sums now due.

This motion was opposed by Mr. M. Beresford, Mr. Secretary Cooke, &c. on the ground of its being vindictive and useless.

The order of the day was called for; and on the question for it, the House divided,

Ayes	—	—	86
Noes	—	—	35
Majority	—	—	51

TUESDAY, MARCH 4, 1794.

The following bills were presented, and read a first time.

A bill for keeping churches newly built in repair.

A bill for more effectual redress in case of fraudulent or damaged linens, and enforcing county inspectors to an effectual execution of their duty.

A bill for improving and repairing the turnpike road from Dublin to Mullingar.

A bill for securing the payment of the annuities, and of the interest upon the principal sums therein provided for, and towards the discharge of such principal sums in such manner as therein is directed, and for enabling the officers of his Majesty's treasury to receive certain sums for a limited time in manner therein-mentioned; and for granting unto his Majesty a certain sum of money out of the consolidated fund, and for applying a certain fund of money therein-mentioned, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and for other purposes.

A bill for enabling the Lord High Chancellor of Ireland and the Court of Exchequer respectively, to make orders on the governor and company of the bank of Ireland, for payment out of the general fund of monies belonging to the suitors of the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer, of the further sum therein-mentioned, towards building the principal courts of justice at Dublin and law offices; for declaring that all government securities purchased by the governor and directors of the said bank, and profits arising therefrom, should be placed to the ac-

count of the governor and company of the said bank, and for enabling the commissioners of his Majesty's treasury to sell and dispose of the grounds and buildings lately used as his Majesty's custom-house in Dublin, and the grounds and buildings now used for his Majesty's said courts, in manner therein-mentioned.

Mr. W. BRABAZON PONSONBY rose to present his promised bill, for amending and improving the state of the representation of the people in Parliament.—Last session, he said, he took up the subject. The bill, which towards the close of it was presented by his right hon. relative in his absence, had been received in such a manner as induced him to hope that its principle met the approbation of the House. He could not, however, foresee what reception the bill which he was now about to present would receive.—He knew not whether the country or the House had changed their opinion on the subject, but for himself, he certainly had not changed his opinion. On the contrary, what had happened since that time had rendered his opinion more decisive. There was one capital objection which then existed against the measure, but which is now done away. The country was then in a state of disturbance, it was now in perfect tranquillity. He presented the bill, which was read a first time in these words:—

“ A BILL for amending and improving the state of the representation of the people in Parliament.

“ Whereas the state of the representation of the people in Parliament is greatly defective, and it would tend much to protect the liberty of the subject, and to preserve our excellent constitution, if the people of this realm were more fairly and equally represented in Parliament :

“ Be it enacted, by the king's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the expiration or dissolution of this present Parliament, the number of knights to be elected and returned to represent each county within this kingdom in any future parliament to be hereafter holden and kept within this realm, shall be three instead of two knights, as heretofore used and accustomed, and for that end and purpose the freeholders in each and every county within this kingdom (who have by law a right to vote for members to serve in Parliament, and none other) are hereby authorized, empowered and required, at every general election to be hereafter holden for members to serve in Parliament, to chuse and elect three persons to serve as knights or representatives in Parliament for said county, which said three persons so elected shall be duly returned as knights or members to serve in Parliament for said county; and the said knights or members so elected and returned shall from thenceforth have, possess and enjoy all the rights, powers, authorities and privileges

which are possessed and enjoyed by the knights who now sit in Parliament within this realm.

“ And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the expiration or dissolution of this present Parliament, the number of citizens to be elected and returned to represent the city of Dublin in Parliament shall be three; and that the number of citizens to be elected and returned to represent the city of Cork in Parliament shall be three; and for that end and purpose, the freemen and freeholders of the said city of Dublin who are by law entitled to vote for members to serve in Parliament, and none other, are hereby authorized, empowered and required, at every general election to be hereafter holden for members to serve in Parliament for the said city from and after the period aforesaid, to chuse and elect three persons to serve as citizens or representatives in Parliament for said city of Dublin; and the freemen and freeholders of the said city of Cork are hereby authorized and required, at every general election to be hereafter holden for members to serve in Parliament for the said city, to chuse and elect three persons to be citizens or representatives in Parliament for said city of Cork; and the said three persons so chosen and elected as members for the said city of Dublin, shall be duly returned as members to serve in Parliament for said city, and said persons so chosen and elected for the said city of Cork, shall be duly returned as members to serve in Parliament for said city; and all the said several citizens so elected and returned to serve in Parliament shall from thenceforth have, possess and enjoy all the rights, powers, authorities and privileges which are now possessed and enjoyed by any citizen or citizens already elected and returned to sit in Parliament.

“ Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall be deemed or taken to give to any city or town within this kingdom, which now is or hereafter shall be made a county of a city or a county of a town, a right or power of its so being a county of a city or a county of a town, to choose and elect more than two members to serve in Parliament for such city or town, it being the true intent and meaning of this act, to give and grant the said power of electing and returning three members to serve in Parliament to each of the thirty-two counties into which this kingdom is now divided, and to the cities of Dublin and Cork, and to no other counties, cities or towns whatsoever.

“ And be it hereby further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that when in any future Parliament to be hereafter holden and kept within this realm, any vacancy or vacancies shall happen to arise during the continuance of the said Parliament by the death or expulsion of all or any of the said persons so returned to serve in Parliament for any of the said counties, or for either of the said cities of Dublin or Cork, or in case all or any of the said three persons so returned, shall be afterwards declared and ad-

judged not duly elected, pursuant to the laws now in force in this kingdom for the trial of petitions or controverted elections, or in case that from any other cause whatsoever, the seat or seats in Parliament of all or any of the said three persons so elected and returned shall become vacant; in every such case, a new writ or new writs shall issue to the returning officer of the said county or counties, and of the said city or cities respectively, for the purpose of electing and returning one or more person or persons (as the case may require) in the room or stead of him or them whose seat or seats have so become vacant, in the same manner as writs now issue to supply the vacancy of any seat or seats in Parliament, and thereupon the freeholders of said county or counties, and the freemen and freeholders of said city or cities, who by law are authorized to vote for members to serve in Parliament, shall respectively proceed to choose and elect one or more person or persons (as the writ shall direct) to represent the said county or city in Parliament, in the stead and room of such person or persons whose seats have become vacant as aforesaid; and said person and persons so chosen and elected, shall be duly returned as a member or members to serve in Parliament for the said county or city, and so on from time to time as any vacancy shall happen to arise during the continuance of the said Parliament.

“ And whereas, enlarging the districts of the several cities and borough towns within this kingdom, would tend to render their elections of citizens and burghesses to serve in Parliament, much more free and independent :

“ Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the expiration or dissolution of this present Parliament, the limits or precincts of every city, borough, town or manor having a right to send members to Parliament, shall for the purposes of this act only extend and be deemed and taken to extend to a space or distance of four miles from the said city, borough, town and manor, which space or distance is to be measured by a line to be drawn from some one place within the said city, borough, town or manor, as near the center of the present site of the said city, borough, town or manor, as conveniently as may be done, and to extend in every direction to a distance of four miles from the said place, and no further, so as thereby to make the circuit of the district round the said city, borough, town or manor, equal to twenty-four miles in circumference or thereabouts, and which space contained within the said circuit shall be for the purposes of this act deemed and taken as the district of the said city, borough, town or manor.

“ Provided always, that where any city, borough, town or manor, having a right to send members to serve in Parliament, shall be so situate, as that a line of four miles cannot conveniently be drawn or measured in the manner herein before directed, by reason of the vicinity of some other city, borough, town or manor, having also a

right to send members to serve in Parliament, or by reason of the proximity of the sea, then and in every such case, a certain district shall be measured from the most central place within the said city, borough, town or manor, in such direction as can be best and most conveniently done, and which shall be equal or as nearly as may be to a space contained within a circumference of twenty-four miles, and which space shall be marked out and allotted as and for the district of the said city, borough, town or manor, situate as aforesaid, so as in all cases to give to every city, borough, town or manor, having a right to send members to Parliament a district thereunto appertaining equal to twenty-four miles in circumference.

“ And for the better ascertaining the limits and boundaries of the several districts aforesaid, and in order to prevent all controversy relative thereto :

“ Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the passing of this act, the Speaker of the House of Commons shall issue his order or warrant to the sheriffs of the several counties in this kingdom, commanding the said sheriffs to trace and mark out the boundaries of the several districts which are to be allotted to each city, borough, town or manor, lying within the said county, pursuant to the true intent and meaning of this act ; and the said sheriffs shall, within three months after the receipt of the said order or warrant, fix and ascertain the boundaries of the district appertaining unto every such city, borough, town or manor, lying within the said county, according to the directions in this act contained ; and the said sheriff, for the said purpose, shall summon and impanel a jury of twelve freeholders of ten pounds freehold lying within the said county, but not in the barony in which the said city, borough, town or manor lies, which said jury shall perambulate the said boundaries together with the said sheriff, and allot the said several districts by metes and bounds ; for which end and purpose, the said sheriffs shall employ one or more skilful surveyors to attend upon the said jury and mark out the several districts as aforesaid ; and after the said jury shall have allotted and marked out the said district by plain and distinct metes and bounds in the manner directed by this act, the said sheriff shall make a return of the allotment of the said several districts, specifying therein the exact metes and bounds as ascertained by the said jury, and lodge the same with the clerk of the Crown and Hanaper on or before the twenty-fifth day of December next.

“ And to the end that a full jury of freeholders may be had for the purpose aforesaid, the sheriff of the county shall issue his summons to twenty-four freeholders of ten pounds freehold at the least within the said county (out of which twelve shall be struck by the said sheriff) commanding them to attend him at the time and place therein-mentioned (giving fourteen days notice

thereof) for the purpose of allotting the district as aforesaid, and therein specifying the name of the city, borough, town or manor, whose district is to be allotted.

" Provided always, that each jury so impanelled shall ascertain and allot the district of one such city, borough, town or manor, and no more; and if any of the freeholders shall neglect to attend on the said summons without reasonable cause of excuse, to be allowed by the said sheriff, the said sheriff is hereby authorized to impose on the said person so absenting himself a fine of twenty pounds, which said fine shall be returned and certified into his Majesty's court of Exchequer, and thereupon such process shall issue for the levying thereof as is usual in cases of fines due to his Majesty.

" And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that each of the said twelve freeholders so impanelled as a jury shall take the oath following, which the said sheriff is hereby empowered to administer :

" *I, A. B. do solemnly swear that I will to the best of my skill and judgment, without favour or partiality to any person whatsoever, mark out and allot the district for the city or town of (here naming the city, town or manor) pursuant to the act in that case made and provided.*"

" And to the end, that a proper fund may be provided for the expences attending the marking out the districts aforesaid :

" Be it hereby enacted, that the sheriff shall return to the grand jury of the said county an exact estimate of the expences attending the marking out and allotting the said district, allowing to every juror attending thereupon the sum of one pound per day, and to the surveyor or surveyors such sum as the sheriff shall think fit, not exceeding the sum of for which said sums the grand jury of the said county is authorized and required to make a presentment, to be levied in the same manner as all other presentments of grand juries are raised and levied.

" Be it further enacted, that when the district of the said city, town, borough or manor, shall be so allotted and marked out as aforesaid, every freeholder who shall be seized of a freehold of ten pounds value within the said district, shall have a right to vote for members to serve in Parliament for the said city, borough, town or manor, any former law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding; provided always, that the said person so claiming a right to vote at said election, shall have been seized of his freehold one whole year before the teste of the writ which issued for holding the said election, and shall have registered his freehold six months before the teste of the said writ, pursuant to the act made in the year of his present Majesty for the due registering of freeholds.

" And to the end, that no partial allotments of said districts may be made :

“ Be it further enacted, that in case any three or more freeholders of ten pounds freehold lying within the said district, shall conceive themselves aggrieved by the allotment of the said district in manner aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the said freeholders to present a petition to the House of Commons, complaining of the said allotment, thereby setting forth the grounds of the said complaint, and the merits of the said petition shall be referred to the determination of a committee of fifteen members of the House of Commons, to be chosen by ballot, and struck in the same manner and subject to the same rules as committees are now chosen for the trial of petitions upon controverted elections; and the said committee so chosen, shall have full power and authority to summon all persons before them, and to examine witnesses upon oath as to the matters thereby referred unto them; and the members of the said committee, as soon as they shall have been chosen as aforesaid, shall, at the table of the House of Commons, take the oath following :

“ *I, A. B. do solemnly swear that I will fairly and impartially try the merits of the petition now to me referred, according to the best of my skill and judgment. So help me God.*”

“ And be it further enacted, that the said committee shall forthwith proceed to examine into the merits of said petition, and shall either annul or confirm the said allotment of the said district as to them shall seem just; which judgment of the said committee shall be final and conclusive.

“ Provided always, that the said committee shall have all the powers and authorities as to the trial of the said petition, and their proceedings shall in all cases be governed by the same rules and regulations as are prescribed by the laws now in force for the trial of petitions upon controverted elections.

“ And in case the said committee shall annul and make void the said allotment of the district aforesaid, then a new allotment shall be made of said district in the manner herein before prescribed, for which purpose the Speaker of the House of Commons shall issue his order or warrant as aforesaid to the sheriff of said county, who shall proceed to make a new allotment of the district as before prescribed.

“ Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the of no person who shall be elected and admitted to the freedom of any corporation in any city or town corporate, shall by virtue of such election and admission have a right to vote for members to serve in Parliament for the said city or town corporate, unless the said person shall have been seized of a freehold tenement of the value of five pounds by the year within the said city or town corporate, upon which he or his family shall have resided for one whole year before the time of such election and admission.

" Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend to any person or persons who is or are admitted or who have a right to their freedom by reason of birth, marriage, or service to any trade or calling, but that all such rights shall remain in full force as if this act had not been made.

" Be it further enacted, that every freeman or freeholder voting for a member to serve in Parliament for the said city, borough, town or manor, shall (if required by any other person having a right to vote at said election) take the oath following :

" Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that each and all the inhabitant or inhabitants of every city, borough, or town corporate, having a right to send members to serve in Parliament, who reside within the precincts or district of the said city, borough, or town corporate, as prescribed by this act, and who shall have exercised any of the following trades or callings
for five

years within the districts aforesaid, shall from and after the day of have a right to vote and be admitted to vote at the election of any representative or representatives to be chosen to represent said cities, boroughs, or towns corporate, in Parliament.

" And be it further enacted, that every person who shall be returned as a member to serve in Parliament from and after the day of shall before he be admitted to his seat in Parliament, take the oath following :

" *I do solemnly swear that I have not directly or indirectly procured my election and return to Parliament by the means of any sum or sums of money whatsoever, or by any promise of any pecuniary reward whatsoever, and that I have not authorized any person whatsoever, to give or promise any sum of money whatsoever, for procuring me to be elected and returned a member to serve in Parliament, and that if any such promise hath been made on my behalf, I will not ratify or make good the same. So help me God.*"

" Provided always, that nothing in this act contained, shall extend or in any wise be deemed or taken to extend to the cities of Waterford, Kilkenny, Limerick, Londonderry

and the towns of

but that all their rights, franchises and privileges, limits and precincts, shall remain and continue as if this act had not been made."

Mr. PONSONBY then moved, that the bill be read a second time to-morrow, when

Sir H. LANGRISHE said, he had so often and so recently pressed upon the House his sentiments on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, as it is called, that he neither found himself inclined, nor did he think he would be justifiable to take up much of their time on the present occasion; however, as he had always opposed this measure on general principles, as tending to shake the stability of a constitution which had been formed by the progressive wisdom of ages—as tending to detach the public mind from a veneration for an ancient establishment, and set it loose into the mazes of speculation and experiment; he could not prevail on himself to be altogether silent, when the temper of the times and the condition of the surrounding world furnished such new and important admonition on the subject. He objected to the agitation of the question at this time. He objected to this bill as he did to the bill of the last session, because it led to an object, in his opinion, neither conducive to our freedom nor compatible with our tranquillity: he objected to it, because it justified the popular demand by conceding to the principle; and it disappoints the popular demand by the measure of its concession: he objected to the bill as it flatters requisition by the appearance of a victory, and embitters it by the acrimony of disappointment. The rash career and fatal consequences of a reforming spirit have lately been brought before our view by facts so striking and impressive, that what was formerly conjecture is now conviction; and if we will not profit by the example of others, we may possibly add to future misfortunes the aggravation of self-reproach. Upon a former occasion, he had stated more at large than he should now do, the progress of reform in France till reform became subversion; he had stated many things then as a prophet, which he might now state as an historian.

The progress is natural; and is applicable as a warning to every country in Europe—for there is so much of uniformity in the nature and proceedings of man, that in their combinations almost always similar causes produce similar effects—similar conditions, similar consequences; and therefore, I do not hesitate to say, with every degree of respect and affection for the people, acting within their proper sphere—with every degree of conviction, that their happiness is the end and the object of every good government; I do not hesitate to say, that there never has been an instance in any age or country, in which political power has been assumed by the lowest orders of the people—by those whose education is ignorance—whose condition is uncertainty—whose patrimony is hope—and whose empire must be commotion, which has not proved subversive of liberty, destructive of the general happiness, and peculiarly unfortunate to those who are the authors of it.

Let us not deceive ourselves by calling the calamity of France French cruelty—it is French anarchy : dissolve but the ties that hold mankind together—dissolve but the restriction of laws, the obligations of religion, the mutual dependence and subordination of settled society, and man becomes as ferocious as the tyger in the forest. I do not adopt the philosophy of Mr. Hobbes, or any of the theorists, as to the original state of nature ; I only speak of man breaking loose from the bonds of society, in which case the different dispositions and genius of different countries, have always assimilated, and assimilated in ferocity. If the French have murdered their king, sacrificed their priests on their altars, and exterminated their best citizens, we cannot forget the banishment of Aristides, or the death of Socrates, or the ridiculous cruelty that banished Timotheus, only for adding four strings to the lyre. Popular domination has ever been cruel and unjust ; and every friend to freedom and to order, to virtue and to happiness, should guard against its approaches with as much vigilance as we should guard the roads that lead to life and death.—In the year 1789, the æra of the first reform in France, the elective franchise was ascertained and confined to active citizens, men of certain qualifications, of age and property ; this was the basis of their first great reform. But this reform was soon thought inadequate—as the right hon. member's reform would soon be thought here : Concession proved but the parent of demand, and the redress of grievances the approbation of discontent. The people felt success as a testimony of power, and began to speculate instead of to enjoy : They perceived that in their twenty-six millions of people there were not three millions of active citizens, and that the immediate electors were not in the proportion of one to an hundred of the people. The great majority of the people, who considered themselves the authors and the object of the reform, began to discover that they were unrepresented, “ and being unrepresented, their new philosophy taught them that they were slaves, and that personal representation was necessary to liberty ; and by the usual revolutionary expedients of clubs and conventions, and armed citizens, they speedily accomplished their object—an equal representation of all the people—and with that the democracy of France.”

You see, Sir, that the temperate reform was the rudiments of all that followed ; it was the first prize of political disquisition—it was the first trophy of popular success. However, it was not the end but the means ; it was the instrument and not the object. And to shew you how rapid are the strides of innovation when it is once in motion, permit me to observe, that even the democracy of France was of short duration ; it passed away like the whirlwind of the wilderness, desolating but transitory, and soon yielded—as every popular insurrection has ever done—to the predominant tyranny of some of the most contemptible of its

leaders, who however, had the dexterity "to ride in that whirlwind, and direct the storm."—What then became of the fathers of temperate reform? Where is the Duke de Rochfoucault—the Duke Brissac—the eloquent Clermont-Tonnere—the learned and acute advocate M. de Pascalis? They are no more! neither their talents nor their virtues, nor the splendid rashness of their first enterprize, could atone for their subsequent moderation; they fell victims to the spirit of innovation which themselves had inspired. With such an example before your eyes, will you at this day talk of a temperate reform? or do you imagine your temperate bill, which out of four millions of people leaves 3,800,000 people unrepresented (19 in 20 of the people)—Do you imagine it would satisfy this great majority of the people, whom it does not comprehend? No! no!—you would only inspire their hopes, whilst you disappoint their wishes; and animate their efforts by flattering their pretensions—The people who were clamorous for reform would despise your temperate plan, except only as one stage gained in the great career.—I say, they would despise it, because they have said so themselves—they have over and over again, demanded and defined their ultimatum of reform, "An equal representation of all the people." In the last session, I gave you at large a detail of their requisitions on this subject, taken from the minutes of their associations, and their clubs, and their armed citizens, in which they have told you explicitly, "they will not lay down their arms till they procure an equal representation of all the people;" and a recent publication by a society called the United Irishmen, is not more explicit in the recommendation of their own plan, than in their contempt of your's. They tell you "they firmly believe administration and opposition are equally averse from the measure of adequate reform." They say, "If they had no other reason for that opinion, the plan laid before Parliament in the last session, (the present bill) under the auspices of opposition, might convince them of the melancholy truth."—As to their own plan they have given you a full and faithful delineation of it. It is founded on a decided principle, and goes to a decided purpose—personal representation detached from property, universal suffrage and pure democracy.

He said, he knew very well the right hon. gentleman who proposed this measure, and the hon. gentleman who associates with him in its support, have too great a stake in the country, too high a public character, too much of personal integrity to suffer them to become accessory to such dangerous notions; at the same time, if they give the authority of partial concession to extravagant demand, they will find that neither their interests nor their character, respectable as I know they are, will have authority to repress its growth or controul its excess. It is impossible to look into the peculiar situation of this country, and

the condition of the world around us, without, seeing that this is not the time to agitate questions of political experiment. We know that the most indefatigable industry has been employed to corrupt the minds of the people, to inspire them with new notions of government, new models of constitution, and new conditions of obedience. We know that innovation has been held out to the restless—commotion to the disaffected; and the poor have had the false gospel of equality preached unto them. We know that the most populous nation in Europe has declared hostility against every settled government existing—that they have added the force of enthusiasm to the fury of an unholy war; a sort of anti-crusade, in which they bear the guillotine against the cross, and with the impetuosity of a spurious chivalry, endeavour to spread their arms and their infidelity all over the world. It is of little consequence to us what species of government or anarchy they may chuse for themselves, if they would keep it to themselves; but the liberality of their zeal disdains such monopoly—they send out missionaries to propagate their doctrines, and in this country as well as in Great Britain, they must have made some proselytes, because in every country there are many to be found, "*Quos ad perturbandam Republicam inopia atque mali mores stimulant.*" And they further tell you, "that this invasion of your principles shall be followed by an invasion of your land." We read in their public records that the Minister of Justice proposes "a Committee of Insurrection, for the express purpose of overturning every existing monarchy in Europe." They vote, "that the National Convention of France be a Committee of Insurrection against all the Kings in the universe;" and they actually appoint a chosen band to be their assassins. They decree in the name of the French nation, "that they will assist every country who wishes to recover their liberty;" and they charge the executive power in a decree, translated into all languages, "to give the commanders of the French armies orders to protect the citizens of every country who may be disturbed or vexed for the cause of their liberty." Inviting all nations who wish to recover their rights, "to apply to their generals for assistance;" which is to solicit revolt in all countries. The perseverance of their activity was equal to the boldness of their principles, and in violation of their disclaimer of conquest, they made Savoy an 84th department of France.

Is it then possible that at this time, and under all the circumstances of the world, we should for a moment engage ourselves in problematical experiments, on a constitution which we know is competent to all the ends of civil liberty and progressive happiness? That we should turn the minds of the people from the duties of a critical situation?—That we should, as it were, tamper with turbulence, and favour disquisitions which would make the people politicians instead of husbandmen; and agitators instead

of defenders of their country? As to the objections to the bill itself, though I think them great and numerous, I yet think they are lost in the predominant objection to your agitating the question at all at this time. As the bill is the bill of the last session, in entering into the particulars I should only repeat what I said before. I objected to it then as I do now, that it is incompetent to the end proposed, and would be utterly unsatisfactory to the people it professes to gratify, that it does not improve or extend the basis of representation, that it renders the representation of the people still more unequal—and that on the whole it is a transfer of power, and not a reform in Parliament. And as to the House of Commons, constituted and composed as it is at present, although the waste of some places, and the growth of others, must perpetually vary the proportions of its own constituency, I am yet bold to say, it is at this day an adequate representation of the property of the kingdom. That in its proceedings you cannot trace any provocation to change it, because you know that for several years past it has been engaged in the uniform practice, session after session, of adding some new protection to constitutional liberty—some new advancement to the prosperity of the country; and that to hazard such a condition of progressive happiness in the lottery of experiment or adventure, would at all times be rashness, and at this time infatuation. Under such impressions, he said, he must naturally wish to put an end to the discussion; and to do so in the manner most respectfully to the right hon. member, he should move, “That the bill be read a second time on the 1st of August.”

Dr. BROWNE said, that though he had no new sentiments to offer on this occasion, he thought it just to speak, in order to shew that he was at his post.—What he had to offer, he thought he should address to the right hon. baronet who opposed the bill, as the gentlemen on the other side seemed to have elected him their personal representative. The arguments he had offered might be reduced to three heads:

The example of what had happened in France;

The danger of innovation; and,

The proper conduct of Parliament.

The example of France made against the right hon. baronet, for the reason of all the mischiefs which had happened in that country, was not having timely yielded to a moderate reform. The way to avoid similar mischiefs in this country was to concede that reformation early, which, if not conceded will, at last be effected by violence. What time could be better for reform than the present? From what he had seen he was convinced that a time of terror only would be thought a time for reform. He reprobated the conduct of the French, but he could not help seeing, nevertheless, the abuses of the old government of France,

well as the present abuses of our own government. He did not wish to imitate all the conduct of the French, but wished that House so far resembled the French convention as that a member rising to speak in a debate might be more able to influence its decision than the minister;—he might wish perhaps to go further, and that the ministers here as there, were rather standing at the bar as servants, than directing the House as masters. He denied the principle that all have a right to a share in the government of a country. As well might every child assume a share in the direction of family concerns. This plan of universal representation had sometimes before been attempted to be introduced. Colonel Ireland, in the great rebellion, had attempted it, but he was obliged to make some limitations, and exclude from the franchise all those who did not pay taxes, servants, and all who lived on charity. The plan was therefore impracticable, as it was dangerous. There were, however, many moderate men who entertained no such romantic notions, and yet have looked long with horror at the abuses of ministers, and for a reform in the representation. These would probably not be seditious, but they might be prompted to stand neuter in the moment of commotion, and possibly might at last be even prompted to an extreme.

These men should be satisfied as to the good conduct of Parliament; they certainly had of late years done some good, but they had always done it in the hour of danger and the day of calamity—they did good only when they were driven to it. He concluded by declaring, he would support the bill now, and whenever it should be brought forward, and he hoped it would be repeatedly brought forward, till it should be at length obtained. It would be the rejection, not the discussion of it, which would now irritate the public mind.

Mr. GRATTAN said, the bill before you has been called a transfer of property—it is not so; the gentlemen who make the charge have not read the bill; it is not a transfer of the borough from A. to B. but from A. to all those who have the adjacent interests landed or commercial, to all who have estates, freehold, or terms for years, (for they must be included) or have carried on a trade for a certain time within a circle of 24 miles. If any one man has all the lands and towns within that circle, he probably will influence the return, but such estates are scarcely to be found in this kingdom, and when they are found they will have their influence under any reform, unless you choose to rob the proprietor, in order to amend the representation; and even in the case of such estates, as in cases of great county interest, the return may be influenced, but it cannot be sold. This proprietary influence you may call the influence of the landlord on his tenants, but it is also the influence of the tenant on the land-

lord, and the respectability of both instead of being as now the insignificance of the latter and the property of that person who is not a landlord, and whose best estate is his twelve burgesses; this borough-monger it extinguishes and leads to a milder communication of manners as well as diffusion of influence between landlord and tenant, with an additional temptation of residence to the former and improvement to the latter; it is, in short, an open of 200 seats to property, to talents, and to both mixed, to be elected by the yeomanry and citizens.

We have in this plan committed no violence on the principles of the constitution, and scarcely any on its geography. We have added one member to the counties and the three great cities, because we think the landed interest is not proportionably represented, and the ministerial interest beyond all proportion represented; and we have extended the boundary of the borough, because we find in the old boundary nothing to represent; we have not extended the boundary to the whole of the county, because we would not extinguish or overbalance an integral part of the Parliament, the citizens and burgesses; and we have extended the line beyond the borough, to a line of 24 miles, to encompass a mass of landed interest as long as land is productive, and commercial interest, if within 24 miles any commerce shall exist, as commerce shall within that district encrease and flourish, its balance on the return will encrease, and there will yet remain a great landed interest in the representation, even though commerce should within that district totally decline. Thus we have as far as is practicable provided against the effect of the fluctuation of property, we have not corrected oligarchy as was erroneously objected to us by oligarchy, but by aristocracy and democracy mixed: by landed property and by democracy of cities. We have applied the principles of the English constitution to the state of Irish property with a decisive advantage for the present, and with such growing advantages to the future, as must arise from the growth of commerce and the growing diffusion of riches! Weigh then the objections to the bill, and you will find they amount either to a depreciation of the principles of the British constitution in their application to Ireland, or to a demand for an Agrarian law.

I do not say that this bill in its present shape is perfect; on the contrary, I would wish to propose considerable alterations—the franchise should be extended to termers for years, perhaps some others, the duration of Parliament should be diminished, the powers of the corporation to make voters totally extinguished;—after these amendments, I do not say the bill would be then an exact representation of the property of the country or of the propertied part of the community; no, because that is impossible and that is unnecessary; no, but it would be a substantial representation of both—that is, it would answer all the political

purposes of adequate representation; it would be *quod erat desideratum*—it would not be arithmetically equal, but it would be substantially and practically adequate; it would give to the mass of property, commercial and landed, instead of a fourth, the whole of the return of members to serve in Parliament, and with the mass of property it would give you the best chance for the mass of talents. But, says my right hon. friend, why agitate the people now? we have not created, we have found the agitation of this subject, and therefore the question is not now, whether we shall agitate but abandon this subject; and sure I am that we should agitate the people much more by renouncing, than by pursuing their great object, a more equal representation of the people; we should then leave them at large on this subject to their own despair, or to those desperate suggestions which every seditious bungler may propose, while the abuses of your representation abandoned to such hands make every quack a doctor, and every fool a philosopher.—Sir, it is the excellence of our constitution that it contains in itself the seeds of its own reformation, and to this excellence I attribute its duration; other countries have preserved abuses until they accumulated and were finally levelled indeed, but with the establishments themselves by the deluge of anarchy, instead of being removed by a reformation. You yourselves to a degree were sensible of this; have made reforms in the executive and in the judicial branches, but in the representation you however have none, and without reforms in the latter, you will have made none of any great effect in the former; for until the present representation is reformed, your bench of justice, your executive power, your House of Peers, will be from time to time, as they have been, contaminated.—By sacrificing the first now and then to the application of the borough-monger, by modelling the second merely to gratify the same borough-monger, and by the sale of the peerage for the borough-monger, to the disgrace of one house, and the corruption of both. So strongly am I of this opinion, that I imagine with a reform in the abuse of representation, all the other abuses would be quelled; whereas without it the reform of the other abuses will be but plausible and palliative. But, says the right hon. baronet, is not this reform a step to a succession of innovation? He goes farther, he says, does it not lead to personal representation? to which I directly answer, it leads from personal representation, not to it, it ascertains representation to property, and to the propertied community, and whatever force, weight, influence, or authority both possess, unites them against the attempt in favour of personal representation.

Freeholders, leaseholders, and all resident trading interests, are now in the struggle of our parliamentary constitution spectators; they would then be parties.—They now enjoy a power of returning one-fifth of the house, and therefore are little interested

for it, and that they may have a speculation on the interest that might arise to them on throwing up that fifth, and dividing the whole with population; they therefore some of them may be parties against it, but if they had the whole of the return they would then be the proprietors, and they would defend the parliamentary constitution against innovation, with the same zeal with which the oligarchy now defends his boroughs against reformation; but with this difference, that the existing parliamentary constitution would then be defended against innovation with the strength of all the property and all the propertied public, whereas it is now defended with the strength of about 40 individuals, and about 200,000*l.* rental, that is, without the strength of population or of property; and it is a decided proof of its weakness; that the borough-mongers could not now defend it without the influence of Government, and a further proof of its weakness is the proposal of a plan of personal representation. Sir, could such a monster be offered as a proposal that the persons who receive alms should vote the taxes, if there was not another monster much less misproportioned, but a monster notwithstanding in the existing constitution, where a few individuals, as little the property of the country as its population, vote those taxes.—It follows from what I have said, that the best method of securing the parliamentary constitution is to embody in its support the mass of property which will be generally found to include the mass of talents, and that the worst way of securing your parliamentary constitution is to rest it on oligarchy, oligarchy that is a bad form of government, oligarchy that is always a weak one.

But, says the right hon. baronet, France! take warning from France.—If France is to be a lesson, take the whole of that lesson; if her frantic convention is to be a monitor against the vices of a republic, let the causes which produced that convention be an admonition against the abuses of monarchy. France would reform nothing until abuses accumulated, and government was swept away in a deluge, until an armed force redressed the state, and then, as will be generally the case, united on becoming the government. It was not a progress from reformation to innovation, but from one modification of a military government, that is, of one anarchy to another; in principle therefore the case of France does not apply, in policy still less; for sure I am, if there is an attempt to introduce the rebellious graces of a republic into these countries, the best precaution is to discountenance them by the sober attractions of a limited monarchy, and the worst precaution is to preserve all the abuses of the latter to pre-engage men against the vices of the former.

On this principle I conceive the enemies to the constitution are the extremes. The advocate for its abuses and the leveller of its establishments. The advocate for its abuses, in his discourse

published in the last summer, and circulated in both countries against the Catholic bill, the reform of Parliament, and the people of Ireland, falsifies the origin of the Commons in order to support the defects in the representation. He states, that the Commons were seldom called, and then only for subsidy, and this he calls the original purity of the English constitution. The period of its formation as best ascertained was the time of the Edwards; and in the reign of Edward I. there were about 25 parliaments; in the reign of Edward II. about 11; and in that of Edward III. about 70 great councils or parliaments, and to these parliaments you find the Commons were summoned; therefore it is ignorance to say, that the Commons were seldom summoned, and it is no less ignorance to say they were only summoned for money; for you will in the different parliaments of those reigns, find the Commons occupied with the subjects of war, peace, treaty, the regulation of the household, the regulation of the king's counsellors, the staple, the coinage, the price of provision, the conduct of ministers, and the making of laws.

And if authority was necessary to support history, you find in the reign of Richard II. the statute of heresy taken off the roll, because smuggled through parliament without the assent of the Commons. You find Blackstone express in declaring, that the principle of the constitution of parliament as it now stands was laid in the charter, and that it existed in fact ever since the reign of Henry III. You will find writs extant, and the purposes for which the Commons were called, viz. the *ardua regni*, not subsidy, expressed in those writs, and you will for the whole conclude, that this advocate for abuses has traduced the inheritance of the people, and that instead of being called seldom, and then only for money, the Commons were in the purity of the constitution an essential part of the legislation; and you will also find that they were the representative of landed and commercial property. In tracing the errors of this patron of abuses, you arrive at the truths which have confused him.—He had probably heard of a general and particular parliament, but had not learned to distinguish the purposes for which they were called, the general parliament being called for purposes affecting the realm, the particular, which is properly called a great council, for purposes affecting the order of men only, of which that council was composed; probably the uncertainty of the writ of summons was another cause of his confusion, but he should have understood the reason, and then he would have learned that the writ followed the property, and when the borough was decayed was not directed thereunto. Thus in 34 of Edward I. you find a summons to parliament of one or two burgesses from each borough, as the boroughs shall be found greater or less: why? because the representation had reference to the property, and not to the

name; because though the Commons were an essential part of the parliament, the particular borough was not an essential part of the Commons; because in the origin of the constitution there was a principle of reform as well as of property, which principle was then very improperly exercised by act of prerogative, and which it is now very properly proposed should be exercised by act of legislation.

The advocate for abuses having falsified the origin of the Commons, proceeds to falsify the importance, and with precipitate ignorance and shallow presumption, tells us that the security of the liberty of the people is placed in the aristocratic influence of their representatives, and the ignorance of his observation he applies not only to Ireland but to Great Britain; as the English Commons increased in aristocratic influence, says the patron of abuses, their liberties were best defended. It is not so, it is almost directly the contrary. If he meant by aristocratic influence borough influence, he talks idly, and if he means wealth he expresses himself improperly; liberty was not best defended as the Commons became an aristocratic power, but as aristocratic wealth and feudal principality were alienated, melted, and diffused among the Commons; not as the Commons ceased to be Commons, but as great men became Commons by alienation, and small men became such by commerce, as the Commons grew in wealth the better to combat that aristocratic influence, and not as they themselves became a part of that influence and ceased to be Commons. To the aristocratic power, which the patron of abuses would set up as the bulwark of freedom, must we attribute the fall of freedom and the catastrophe of kings. To this must we attribute the barons war and five depositions, and to the diminution of that power are we to attribute the bill of rights and the revolution, both carried in the Commons against the alterations and interpolations attempted by this aristocratic interpolation and influence. It is true, though the power of the baron is gone, the influence of the borough patron remains; and therefore, though there is no civil war there will continue to be faction. For wherever the powers of the constitution fall into the hands of an oligarchy, the crown and the people must alternately capitulate, the one for his freedom and the other for his prerogative; and if I were to come to any general conclusion on this part of the subject, it would be that the disturbance of Government has been the effect of the prevalence of oligarchy, and the freedom of the people the effect of its decline.

I do not press the patron of abuse with the recollection of the causes which recovered and secures the liberty of his own country; he has had very little to say to them; but let me instruct him and tell him that the best securities for the liberty of the people is their wealth, and the adequate representation of that wealth, and the public spirit animating that representation, and

if the existing representation is too contracted to suffer those energies to act within the frame of the constitution, that frame is defective and the liberties of your country are in danger, or the framer of your constitution.

The patron of abuses having attacked the principles of the constitution, at last confesses his own, and tells you that parliament should not be independent, that is, that it ought to be corrupt, and the profligacy of his opinion he attempts to support by the misapplication of his cases; and he mentions, as instances of independency, the long parliament that was not independent, but dragooned, and the National Convention of France that is dragooned likewise; but after such a declaration, I should scorn to argue with the inapplication of his cases, or the weakness of his logic; but I must protest against the profligacy of his doctrines—doctrines subversive of liberty, of government, British connection and moral obligation. Worse even than the abuses so defended is a plan I have seen for their reformation, personal or individual representation.

The principle of such a plan is a complete, avowed, and unqualified departure from the vital and fundamental article of the British constitution, in practice and in theory; and I must say, such an outset requires no small degree of mischievous and senseless temerity. With equal folly does this plan violate the dearest rights of man, for if there is one right of man intirely indisputable, it is that which gives to the individual in particular, and the community in general, the fruits of his and of their industry; thus the passenger through your field, or the labourer on your farm, has no right to make rules for the management of the same, nor have the aggregate of labourers or of non-proprietors a right to make rules or ordinances for the land farms or trade of the community.

This reasoning applies very strongly to the case of Ireland, because it appeared on the hearth-money survey of the last year, that those who were to be exempted from the hearth-money for want of property, were more than half of our inhabitants. It was besides insisted on by the objectors to reform on the principle of property, that such a principle excluded the majority; it follows that the plan which gives votes to all the inhabitants, and gives away to that majority the fruits of the industry of the community, gives away the estate of the landholder, the farm of the freeholder, the lease of the leaseholder, and the trade of the citizen, to be ordered and disposed of by a majority, who are confessed to have neither estate, nor farm, nor lease, nor trade. That is the plan that robs the individual, and the community of the fruits of their industry, and destroys the representation of property. Under the pretence of establishing a representation of existence, it destroys a principle which is real and sacred, to establish a conceit which is affected and nonsensical.

But it is not merely to those who have neither farm, freehold, nor trade, that this plan extends the right of voting;—it gives the return of members to serve in parliament to all the common soldiers, to the resident army, horse, foot and dragoons—to the police—to the scavenger. It goes farther, it gives that right to all hospitals, to almsmen, to Channel row, and every beggarman in the kingdom of Ireland. It goes farther, it gives that right to every criminal—whiteboys that break laws, and defenders who steal arms; and would thus present you with a representation of felons as well as of paupers. To such a monstrous constitution, whose frenzy, folly, and wickedness, must excite at once your scorn and horror, the objection is not merely that such persons would be represented, but the persons who have no property in land, lease, freehold, or trade, being confessedly the majority, it follows under such a plan that such persons alone would be represented, and that the landholder, leaseholder, farmer and tradesman, confessedly the minority, with their one vote only, this plan allows them no more, would not be represented at all, it follows that those who have nothing in land, lease, farm, or trade, would return the parliament; that is, those who had nothing in the common stock would make the laws, and the men who receives alms would vote the taxes. You held the Catholic to be a slave when his property was taxed without his consent by the Protestant; the plan of personal representation does away the franchise of the Catholic bill, and taxes both Protestant and Catholic without the consent of either, by introducing a new set of voters who shall outnumber both, a body who have not with respect to you, like the Catholics in property, a common, but have a distinct and opposite interest, and are not politically the same but essentially different; a body who puts nothing into the common stock, and are to take every thing out of it, some of them are the objects of your charity, others the objects of your justice, and all of them now invited to become instruments of mischief and members of government.—A plan which insults the beggar with a power in the state, and which robs the people of their influence in the constitution; which goes against the rights of man and the principles of the British constitution, which destroys all the counties; which takes away from every citizen and freeholder one vote by regulation, and extinguishes by the voice and votes of the multitude the effect of the other; and which by its direct and indirect operation, taken together, disfranchises all the property in the kingdom, with such electors as have none, and whose condition alone, however subdivided their multitude, would make an election a riot: with such an unqualified rout the plan of personal representation becomes more alarming, by doubling the number of elections and making the parliament annual; that is, by diminishing the franchise and doubling the confusion, afterward making that confusion eternal,

so that instead of 150 elections once in eight years, we should have every year 300 elections.

Suppose a potwalloping borough without even the restraint of a potwalloping qualification; suppose an election, of which Swords gives you an orderly and tranquil image, multiplied into 300 instances, and blazing out every year at the same moment in every part of the kingdom: Trade, industry, government, order, liberty, external consequence and internal repose, in short, young Ireland, what must be your lot? while the business of your legislation, your trade, and your agriculture stood still, to give way to this universal canvass and universal disorder, to this permanent intoxication and revolutionary riot.

To destroy the influence of landed property is the object of individual representation, but its immediate effect would be to extinguish the people. The rich might for a time make a struggle; they might in some places buy a mob, who by such a plan would be all electors; they might beset the hustings with their retainers, who by such a plan would all be electors, or they might purchase the votes of that great body of electors introduced by such a plan into the constitution, all the beggars in the neighbourhood. The minister too, for the short time such a plan suffered king or minister, could in the corrupt confusion of such elections, preserve some influence by the application of the treasury and the command of the army, he could have all the swords and votes of all the common soldiers. But the farmer and the citizen could have none of those advantages, and indeed, what farmer or citizen would go to the hustling of a medley of offenders met on a plan, where bayonets, blundgeons and whiffkey, elected the House of Commons? In the mean time, the respect which the landlord and candidate now pay to the farmer and to the citizen would be at an end, and instead of resorting to the farmer for his vote and interest, the squire would go to the farmer's dung-yard, and canvass the boys of his bawn, who would have more votes, though neither farm nor freehold; the consequence of the citizen would be at an end also, and instead going to his shop to ask the tradesman for his vote, the candidate would apply to the beggar on the bridge, or the scavenger in the kennel, or to the hospitals, or Channel-row, and those places where the poor are now wisely supplied with bread, instead of being intoxicated with hand-bills, offering in the place of bread, the hopes of returning the parliament, and becoming a third constitutive part of the legislature.

Such would be the state of election, under this plan of personal representation, which from a revolution of power would speedily lead to a revolution of property, and become a plan of plunder as well as a scene of confusion; for if you transfer the power of the state to those who have nothing in the country, they will afterward transfer the property, and annex it once more

to the power in their own persons;—give them your power and they will give themselves your property; of such a representation as this plan would provide, the first ordinance would be robbery, accompanied with the circumstance incidental to robbery, murder! Such we have seen in France on a similar experiment. There were two models for those who undertook to reform the legislature—the principles of the British constitution, with all its prosperity, the confusions of the French with all its massacres; deliberately have the authors of the plan of personal representation preferred the latter. Their plan at another time had been only evidence of utter incapacity, at this and with the circumstance of its most active circulation, it is a proof of the worst intentions; their plan is an elementary French constitution, sent to the different cabins of Ireland for their adoption; it is an invitation unavailing, considering the general loyalty of the people, I allow, but not the less wicked and vicious, an invitation, I say, from a blasted Jacobin society to the peasantry, to rise in a mass and demand a French constitution, under the mask of reforming the parliament—as such I would resist it.—As such, as long as there is spirit or common sense in the kingdom, we will all and for ever resist it—but though the perpetration of the attempt you may defy, yet the mischief of the attempt you must acknowledge. It has thrown back for the present the chance of any rational improvement in the representation of the people, and has betrayed the fate of a good reform to the hopes of a shabby insurrection. There are two characters equally enemies to the reform of parliament, and equally enemies to the government—the leveller of the constitution, and the friend of its abuses; they take different roads to arrive at the same end; the levellers propose to subvert the king and parliamentary constitution by a rank and unqualified democracy, the friends of its abuses propose to support the king and govern the parliament, and therefore in the end to overset both by a rank and an avowed corruption. They are both incendiaries; the one inflames the people by senseless flattery, the other by senseless petulance; the one would destroy government to pay his court to liberty—the other would destroy liberty to pay his court to government; but the liberty of the one would be confusion, and the government of the other would be pollution. The one is a hypocrite that in the mimic trances of public zeal would overset the throne—the other is a saucy slave more destitute of virtue than of talent, who wraps himself up in the threadbare gown of zeal for government, and stabs his country to the heart. Thus these opposite and bad characters would meet at last on the ground of their common mischief, the ruins of the best regulations that ever distinguished human wisdom, those that limit the power of the crown, and those that restrain the impetuosity of the people.

Adverting to your constitution with particular care, I find in its present defective state of representation, we have neither representation of property nor of any proportion of property; it appeared that less than 90, but in fact, I believe, about 40 individuals, return a vast majority of the House of Commons—of property it will be found that those persons who return that majority (it is I believe two-thirds) have not an annual income of 300,000*l.* while they give and grant above 3,000,000*l.*—that is, the taxes they give are 10 times, and the property they tax is infinitely greater than the property they represent; this constitution of disproportion—this representation of person, not property, of the persons of a few individuals is less defensible when you look to its origin. I have heard of the antiquity of borough representation in Ireland—it is a gross and monstrous imposition, this borough representation is upstart, the greater part of which was created by James I. for the known and professed purpose of modelling parliament. Hear—hear the account of that project in Ireland. Chief Baron Gilbert says, “the constitution of boroughs did not arise from burgage tenures as in England, but from concessions from the king to send members created in later times, when by securing an interest in such towns proper representatives to serve the turn of the court were sent to parliament.”—In Leland, you find them described as follows:—“A number of new boroughs, most of them inconsiderable, and many too poor to afford wages to representatives, must be entirely devoted to government, and must return its creatures and dependants; such an accession of power could not fail to encourage administration to pursue the dictates of its passions and resentments. The persons returned were—whom?—clerks, attornies, and servants of the Lord Deputy; there is the sacred model!”

But, say gentlemen, the boroughs have in their operation done prodigies;—one great operation has been to tax the country at large for places and pensions for borough representatives. See how the constitution by borough and not representation worked previous to the revolution, it scarcely worked at all. Of the last century, near 85 years at different intervals passed without a parliament—from 1585 to 1612, that is, 27 years, no parliament—from 1615 to 1634, 19 years, no parliament—from 1648 to 1661, 13 years, no parliament—from 1666 to 1692, that is, 26, no parliament.—Before the revolution it thus appears that with the rights and the name, Ireland had not the possession of a parliamentary constitution—and it will appear since the revolution, she had no constitutional parliament.—From 1692 to 1768, near 70 years, almost two-thirds of a century, the tenure was during the life of the King; since that time of limitation of the term there have been two reforms in the essence of parliament, but reforms which I shall distinguish from the constitutional reform desired in the bill, by the appellation of anti-reforms. The first

anti-reform procured by the treasury, was the creation of a number of new parliamentary provisions, in the years 69, 70 and 71, for the purpose of creating representatives of the minister to counteract and counterbalance the representatives of the aristocracy; this anti-reform or modelling of the legislature was emphatically described and authoritatively confessed, by a memorable declaration and scandalous justification, and the government was said to have paid, for defeating the aristocratic influence, a sum of half a million, a sum which would have bought 50 boroughs to be open to the people, and which the people were declared to have paid to procure a certain number of members in parliament to represent the minister.

The second period of anti-reform was in 89, when the same sum was declared as likely to be expended for the same purpose, for the purpose of buying more representatives of the then minister to counteract the remaining strength of the representatives of the aristocracy, that is, when 15 new parliamentary provisions were created, to procure 15 new ministerial representatives; here is the other half million, and here are two anti-reforms, which have cost the nation as much as would buy 100 boroughs, that is, all the boroughs. Which (the 15 new court representatives of 89 being added to those of 69 or about that period, and to the gradual additions since) make altogether from 40 to 50 new additional representatives of administration, which is a number nearly equal to all the knights of the shire.

I have heard the word innovation—would they who exclaim thus call 40 additional members to the counties, innovation, and 40 additional members to the ministers none?—is the extent of the principle of representation to more county members innovation?—and the subversion of that principle in the instances, I speak of, none? Is a fuller and fairer representation of property on the principles of the constitution innovation, and a fuller representation of the treasury none? The question is not now, whether you will admit the idea of a reform of parliament, but having admitted and submitted to innovation in the shape of abuse, whether you will not now counteract that abuse in the shape of reformation? Gentlemen speak of a fixed constitution—Sir, these boroughs are not a fixed constitution, but floating property, a provision for younger children, a payment for debts, and a mortgage on the treasury for the family of the proprietor;—the question is then, whether a property which is now at market shall be bought by individuals or opened to the people? Whether the minister shall from time to time buy such portions of your constitution, as shall secure him at all times a majority against the people; or a reform shall so controul that influence as to secure to the people the chance of a majority in their own house of parliament?

When I say this is a question, I am in error; it can be no question, or at least this is the only assembly in which it could be a question; let not gentlemen complain of stirring the subject; they stirred, they decided the subject, they who negotiated the half million—they who created in 1789, the memorable increase of court representation—they who confessed the half million, and they who devised the sale of the peerage. We are only the advocates for a reform of parliament—but they are the evidence of its necessity; they do not draw that conclusion themselves; no, but they are the evidence that force the conclusion upon you.

Gentlemen have talked of innovation; have they considered the date of boroughs when they talk in this manner? Many of these boroughs were at first free boroughs, perhaps one half of the whole was free by charter, and have been made close boroughs by its violation, and are in law extinct, and their members now sit in this House in face of the law of the land, as well as the principles of the constitution. We moved to go last session into an examination, but gentlemen were afraid; we wish to go now into an examination, and if they will venture, we have reason to think we can show you that many of those boroughs are dead in law, and their members sit here by intrusion.

We conclude this head, by three observations: 1st, That in Ireland the erection of the majority of boroughs, was with a view to subvert her parliamentary constitution. 2d, That the use made of those boroughs since, by the sale of peerages, and by the procuring at each general election portions of the parliament, has tended to undermine that constitution. 3d, That a great part of those boroughs have at this moment no existence in law. We therefore conclude with Locke and Bolingbroke:

“ Things of this world are in so constant a flux, that nothing remains long in the same state; thus people, riches, trade, power, change their stations, flourishing mighty cities come to ruin, and prove in time neglected desolate corners; whilst other unfrequented places grow into populous countries, filled with wealth and inhabitants. But things not always changing equally, and private interest often keeping up customs and privileges when the reasons of them are ceased, it often comes to pass, that in governments, where part of the legislative consists of representatives, chosen by the people, that in tract of time, this representation becomes very unequal and disproportionate to the reasons it was at first established upon. To what gross absurdities the following of custom, when reason has left it, may lead, we may be satisfied, when we see the bare name of a town, of which there remain not so much as the ruins, where scarce so much housing as a sheepcote, or more inhabitants than a shepherd, are to be found, sends as many representatives to the grand assembly of law-makers, as a whole county, numerous in people,

and powerful in riches; this strangers stand amazed at, and every one must confess needs a remedy."

Speaking of the revolution, Lord Bolingbroke adds, "If it had been such, with respect to the elections of members to serve in Parliament, these elections might have been drawn back to the antient principle on which they had been established; and the tale of property which was followed antiently, and was perverted by innumerable changes that length of time produced, might have been restored; by which the communities to whom the right of electing was trusted, as well as the qualification of the electors and the elected, might have been settled in proportion to the present state of things. Such a remedy might have wrought a radical cure to the evil that threatens our constitution; whereas, it is much to be apprehended, even from experience, that all others are merely palliative; and yet the palliative must be employed, no doubt, till the specific can be procured."

Mr. JERFISON said, I am afraid we may augur with too much certainty, from what has passed in the course of this session, that the right hon. baronet has spoken the sense of the other side of the House, and is to be supported with the whole weight of administration, and that he has not risen first upon this occasion, merely, because his nature and his habit seems to make it impossible for him to sit silent when the question of reform is mentioned either here or any where else, a measure against which he has so long and so successfully directed the triple weapons of speech, pamphlet, and song.

I own, I did not suppose, till I heard the speech of the right hon. baronet, that any one could expect to be able to represent all the exceptions which have been made to the present system of representation; many and multiform as they are, as resolvable into one blind and undistinguishing objection to the insufficiency of the number of the whole body of electors, and yet upon the assumption of this one position, is founded the whole of the hon. baronet's argument, that goes to shew the inadequacy of the present bill to the object it professes, and its inefficacy to satisfy the demands of the people; I will be bold to say, that this, so far from being the only, has ever been made the principal objection by any rational reformer in this country, that, on the contrary, most reasonable men have been ready to admit, that the whole number of electors in this country, amounting as it does to nearly one hundred thousand, might, if properly arranged, form a very good basis of popular representation, and might be considered as a very fair sample from which the opinions of the people at large might be tolerably well collected; accordingly the right hon. gentleman's bill is not a bill to extend the elective franchise, but what its title professes it to be, a bill to

amend and reform the state of the representation of the people in parliament; and the hon. baronet well knows that a very large addition might be made to the number of electors in this country, without amending or reforming the state of the representation. I cannot long be at a loss for an instance to prove this position, when I can adduce the extension of the elective franchise by the Catholic bill of the last session, which though it was argued on one side of the House, as a measure which set the absurdity of the present state of the representation in a more glaring light, and on the other, as a reason for continuing it as it is, was never itself either called or supposed to be a measure of parliamentary reform; I would therefore contrast the right hon. gentleman's bill with that bill of the last session, and maintain that it is a bill corresponding to its title and adequate to the object it professes, of amending, altering, and reforming the state of the representation, though it does not hold forth any considerable extension of the elective franchise.

I do think that the right hon. mover was fairly entitled to a very different reception of his bill, and that gentlemen on the other side of the House, having forced the right hon. gentleman out of the plain, safe, and easy course he was so much inclined to have taken, of first obtaining the sanction of the House, a resolution on its general principle, and having obliged him to stake the hopes of the country upon the subject of reform, on the wisdom of his specific plan, that that plan, when he did come forward, would have been met upon its merits; but, Sir, I am sorry to say, that without thinking himself obliged to prove any connection between the nature or objects of the present bill and the revolution of a neighbouring country, the gentlemen have not failed to take full advantage of that event, and even to desert, in favour of this leading argument, all the minor subterfuges and pretences by which reform has been so long and so often defeated in this House. Sir, if I can discover in that monstrous chaos of false principle and wicked acts, which calls itself the French revolution, any thing like a guiding or distinguishing principle; it is this, that every individual in the state has an equal right to his exact proportionable share in the government of his country, and this is done or affected to be done, by giving to every individual, without distinction, a right of election to a single assembly, which, when elected, contains all the powers of government in itself; if, Sir, a doctrine so false, so alarming, and so utterly inconsistent with the principle upon which our own constitution is founded, had called forth from the other side of the House, the proposal of a declaratory resolution, in order to meet and combat that doctrine, to re-assert the principles of the British constitution in the hour of attack, and to rescue this House from the imputation, that when we admit the charge of inadequacy in our representation, we admit it on the grounds on

which it is made, such a resolution would hardly be said to favour of concessions to the principle of France; and why, Sir, a bill coming from the other side of the House, pursuing the same object, which goes to declare by something more unequivocal than any professions in this House, by something more strong than any resolution of this House, that we wish to recognise, not passively or by construction, but by an act of the legislature in its favour, the right of suffrage, founded upon property, should be liable to any objection; upon that score, except because it comes from this side of the House, I am at a loss to learn.—Sir, I am very ready to admit, that the personal right of suffrage, or the right of universal suffrage, is utterly incompatible with the preservation of property in this country or in any other. I know very well that the means by which the hands of the many are held off from the possessions of the few, are a nice and artificial contrivance of civilized society, the physical strength is theirs already, if we add to that the strength of convention and compact, all is at their mercy, and they are at the same time furnished with means of carrying their oppression of the few, to an extent to which the nature of things does not permit oppression to be carried, when exercised by the few, against the many, even to the length of extermination itself; it is equally incompatible with the existence of the British constitution; for if it be true, that every individual has a right to the elective franchise, because he has a right to a share in the government of his country, that argument would prove his right to a share, not in a part, but in the whole of the legislature; but it is too clear to stand in need of proof, that no plan of reform, however liberal, no extension of franchise, however unlimited, can do more in our constitution than give every man an equal share in the election of one branch of the legislature, while the same constitution gives to a small body of men, a share equal to that branch, and to a single man a share nearly equal to either of the other two; and therefore, Sir, if the right hon. gentleman's bill went to demand the elective franchise for a single individual, upon this ground, I think it ought to meet with this answer from all the constituted authorities of this country; it is better to make the stand here, than wait till all is lost; but, Sir, the line of demarcation is too clearly drawn, the advocates of universal suffrage are not the friends of this bill, they dislike it even still more than the present system, and they dislike it for every reason that ought to make it a favourite with this House.

Having said so much, I shall not be afraid to say, that little as I admire the doctrine of equality when best understood, much as I abhor and detest it, when abused and perverted, as it has been by some people in this country, I think we ought to adopt so much of that strengthening principle even from France, that within the pale of property and that line of distinction being

clearly marked, we ought to make the elective franchise as broad, as general, and as equal as possible, because in the hour of common danger from a common enemy we ought to make the means of defence as general as possible, among all those of our own inclining; and if suffrage be power, which upon one occasion it was strongly contended to be, if it be protection against power, which it was never denied to be, we ought to put that political weapon into the hands of every man who is interested to use it in our favour.

I am induced to think, that this is the time for such a measure, not so much from the opinion of a great majority of this House, to whom I wish to impute no improper motive; enemies to reform, at every former period, and to reform now, but from the much more striking and remarkable circumstance of a few gentlemen of the greatest property in this country; enemies to reform at every former period, but friends to reform now, whose motives I cannot mistake, when I see them honourably contending against that narrow interest which they claim in a part of the state, in favour of that great and important stake which they have in the whole; give me leave to ask the right hon. baronet, who so strongly presses the argument of time, whether the appointment of a committee in the last session, was not in fact an abandonment of the argument of time; and let me put it to the candour of another right hon. baronet, who brought forward a resolution in that committee, exculpatory of the present system, but coupled with an engagement, that if at any period a plan of reform should be produced, not likely to hazard the advantages of the present system, that it ought to meet with the attention of the committee; whether an indefinite objection to the time now is consistent with that engagement; and give me leave to admire, Sir, the singular use that was made of another argument which seemed to have weight every where, for postponing the question of reform to the Catholic question, in order first, to see what place the Catholics were to take in the state; what are we to say to the liberality of any gentleman who could take shelter under such an argument with a reserve in his mind, that what place the Catholics were to take, should be ultimately, as far as in him lay, a matter of no importance, in as much as when their claims were adjusted, he was still to continue an enemy to reform in any shape whatsoever. This argument I shall only say as of many others, that having answered its purpose once, it can answer it no longer, it can only serve now to shew that this measure is not to be met upon its merits, that it must be combated by a system of expedients, the scope of which does not extend beyond the poor ambition of living from day to day, that it is to be postponed or evaded by any argument that will serve the turn, that it is to be refused conditionally now, upon an objection to the time of bringing it forward, by those who no doubt will think no time

so fit to bring it forward as when the present system shall have worked its full effect, and they will be in a condition to refuse it absolutely and peremptorily. Sir, with respect to the bill itself, we are not reduced to look for the principles upon which the faulty part of our representation may be amended, to any of those vague and general theories which the hon. baronet has mentioned, we have much safer grounds to go on; first, Sir, we may have recourse to that part of our own representation, which is on all hands admitted to be sound; and next, Sir, we may look to the origin of the borough representation in England, where the source has been more pure, and where the practice has less deviated from the theory. I believe, Sir, it may be said with truth, that whenever the legislature of this country have taken notice of the elective franchise in counties by election-laws, it has not been the policy of the legislature to contract, but rather to extend the elective franchise, and although they may not have interfered actively to extend it, yet the suffering the qualification of a county elector to remain at so low a rate as forty shillings for so many centuries, has in fact operated (very materially) towards its extension; it is not then, an unnatural question to ask, if this policy be a just one, and has been a source of pride and exultation for so many years, how comes it that there is all this difference between the right and the possession, that the forty shilling freeholder in a county should find his right of franchise held sacred for many centuries? Because it is a franchise founded upon property, and that the ten pound freeholder in a borough, should seek in vain for his admission to the same right, where there is not a single constitutional argument that goes to support the right of the one that does not apply as strongly in favour of the claim of the other. I believe that it never was supposed, that the right of voting in a county was a right less valuable or less honourable in the hands of any man, because it is shared in common with so many of his fellow citizens; nor when it is considered as a public trust to be exercised for public purposes, would it be considered as less valuable in a borough, were it to be shared in the same manner, when, indeed, it is considered as a right of pecuniary value, a right of which money may be made, a right which may be the object of plunder, as it was once expressed in this House; then, indeed, we must admit, that the whole value of it will depend upon the monopoly, upon the narrowness of the basis, upon the exclusion of others; but even, Sir, to consider it in this light, give me leave to ask, in whose hands or to whom is the right of franchise in our boroughs a right of pecuniary value? certainly not in the hands of the electors themselves; first, because there is the bribery oath in the way, and because it would be immediately followed by the disfranchisement of the voter, if he was to attempt to make such a use of it; but perhaps, it will appear more clearly

from whom the valuable pecuniary right would be taken away by asking this question: If pecuniary compensation were to be made for it to-morrow, to whom would that pecuniary compensation be paid? Surely not to the voters themselves, but to certain individuals who have been surmised often, elsewhere, and sometimes in this House, to have the power of disposing of their voices to their own advantage; it is the interest of these individuals alone which has made the whole of the difference; and I think I may be very well warranted in asserting, that if the legislature had had only public objects to look to in the one case as in the other, that the same principle would have found as easy an admission into the borough representation, as it has done into the county representation; that the right of election in boroughs as well as in counties, ought to be liberal and extended.

Let us look, Sir, to the origin of borough representation in England. When the burgesses were first summoned to parliament, according to the most generally received opinion, in the reign of Edward I. representatives from the clergy were summoned to the convocation at the same time, and both for the fairest of all reasons expressed in the writ directed to the archbishop, that what concerns all, should be consulted of by all. When that great principle was once acknowledged in those days of simplicity, but not of ignorance, no difficulties occurred in the execution. When that wise prince first summoned the burgesses to parliament, he meant to give a great and efficient share in the public councils to the trading interest of the kingdom, and he confided the execution of the trust to the actually existing boroughs, at the time, distributing the privilege fairly and impartially amongst them, without regard to corporation or no corporation; for at the time the burgesses were first summoned by Edward I. there were not thirty corporations in the kingdom. The object of the privilege appeared for a long time in the manner of exercising it; not only were the writs directed occasionally to different boroughs, but there is this curious and remarkable circumstance, that in the writs which first summoned the burgesses, the sheriff is directed, not to return two members for every borough, but one or two according to the size of the borough. If any motive, not strictly public, could be supposed to operate on the mind of that great prince, it was, because cities and boroughs had long been the peculiar favourites and best supporters of all the monarchs in Europe; and therefore, Sir, it is a whimsical circumstance to remark, that gentlemen on this night, violent enemies to innovation, and, no doubt, no bad friends to monarchy, should find themselves at war with the oldest policy in civilized Europe, and that policy which above all others may be called, emphatically, the policy of kings.

How different, Sir, is the origin of the borough representation in Ireland! There is hardly, I believe, a single prescriptive

borough in the kingdom, a great proportion of them owe their origin to the reign of James I. and the rights of returning members commencing in them all with the charter of incorporation, gave an obvious and easy open to the practice of incorporating new and insignificant, or old decayed and desolated boroughs, for the purpose of giving them the right of sending members to parliament, in order to strengthen local interests or the interest of popular men; in this manner forty boroughs were erected by James I. at one time, their patents all running in the same form. Yet, even, Sir, upon the case of those forty boroughs, we have a judicial acknowledgment of the true principle of representation in boroughs. The charters of these forty boroughs came before all the judges of England, and their resolution upon them is reported in one of our best reporters, my Lord Hobart; and it is this, that when there is a corporation made by charter from the king, and in the same an ordinance, that the provost and burgesses only should chuse the members, the law shall vest the privilege in the whole corporation in point of interest, though the execution of it is committed to some persons, members of the same corporation; in this resolution, Sir, we have a judicial and cotemporary authority to warrant us in asserting, that it will be doing great right to the members of these corporations at large, and no wrong to any man, to give into their hands the custody of that privilege which was theirs before in point of interest, and which experience has shewn has not been safe in the hands of those to whom it has hitherto been intrusted.

Sir, if the origin of the borough representation in the two countries is thus widely different, so is their existing state; and this may serve for an answer to the argument so often urged, why do we not wait till England takes the lead; Sir, the grievance does not exist in England in the same degree, and if it did, the remedy would be more difficult.

The constitutions of the different boroughs in England are infinitely various, resembling in some measure the different constitutions of all the different states in the world, which are more or less popular as time or accidents have operated in their favour; no general line of proscription could be drawn with any tolerable fairness, the same argument that goes to prove that three thousand electors afford a sufficient popular basis for a county, would prove that three hundred is nearly sufficient for a borough, and that one hundred is not grossly inadequate.

But with respect to the state of the boroughs in Ireland; I agree with the right hon. baronet, that it is unnecessary to go into the detail; it would be invidious to shew how one gentleman's borough is a barn, another a steeple, a third a tree; because if we proceed upon general grounds, it will suffice to say, that the number of voters is so small as to set all apology at de-

fiance, on the score of its affording a tolerably popular basis of representation, and that the number of boroughs on whom this sentence may be passed, is so great as to render an appeal to the people on the part of the crown by a dissolution of parliament, nearly as nugatory as it renders the privileges of the people, upon a general election on the expiration of parliament, and by so doing, to prevent the operation of the only two circumstances, in which the smallest difference can be stated between a parliament sitting for a limited time, and a parliament sitting for ever.

It happens, Sir, that we may sometimes pay that tribute to the integrity of men's understandings, which we cannot always do to the consistency of their conduct. I will say, that by no man, either in public or private, did I ever hear the present system defended, as being in reality, a representation of the people, but it has been often argued, and is to-night, that a system of nomination has succeeded which answers the purposes of government still better, and that it would be of little importance if a great majority of this House were in form as they are in effect; nominated by certain very respectable individuals in this House, and certain very respectable noble lords in another; this idea was once pushed so far in another place: by, perhaps, the most ingenious and certainly one of the greatest and best men in England, Mr. Wyndham, as to induce him to say, that were the inadequacy of the elective body still greater than it is, nay, if the whole House of Commons were elected by the county of Middlesex alone, and such a shadow of representation were found to answer the purposes of good government, he would not seek to disturb it. However, specious this argument may sound, it seems clear to me that when it appears in its true colours, when it is developed and explained, it is nothing more than the old argument of power, of that power which in every country, in every age, is willing to trust itself, and to mistrust all checks that can be laid upon it in this country; it comes from a suspicious quarter, it is the argument of the aristocracy, a body of men whom no man respects more than I do, whom no man denies should be invested with its due share of weight in the constitution, but whom no man denies to be in possession of that share, and it is used against the people who are admitted to be out of possession of the share of power which as properly belongs to them; and the argument is not that they demand more than they are intitled to, but that their powers and their privileges have found their way into other hands where they are, and are exercised more for their advantage. Thank God, Sir, we have not at this day the whole of our constitution to recover, either from the chaos of first principles, or to sue for it at the foot of the throne; but if we had, and the aristocracy were now to seek for their share of power from the justice of the Crown, they would be met by the same argument that now defeats the claim

of the people. Hear how the same argument sounds in the mouth of an ancient or a modern monarch. When Augustus Cæsar in Rome, when the king of Sweden in our days, took into their hands all the functions of the other constituted authorities, when to use the words of the historian of the former, *consulatum tribunatum omnia in se trahebat nullo adversante*, he did not do it upon the barefaced avowal that he meant to exercise them all for his advantage; no, he held forth the pretence that they had been abused in the proper hands, but would be safe in his. No doubt, Sir, when the people shall be restored to their rights, one of the first uses they will make of them will be to thwart the views of the aristocracy, and whenever they do so, they will be thought by that aristocracy to have employed them exceedingly ill; but, Sir, our constitution is founded upon fairer principles, it can suppose that there are some subjects which so nearly touch the people at large, that the wisdom of the people is superior to the wisdom of the aristocracy; our constitution is built upon mutual checks and mutual controul; it is the extreme of weakness in an individual to call other minds into council under any previous condition of agreement with opinion proposed; it will be wise in the state to take the people into the public councils, in order to have the benefit of their honest opinion in whatever way they may operate, to give them that share in the constitution which in justice belongs to them to be exercised for their advantage, and for ours to be used like Trajan's sword, *pro me si meriar, si non contra me*.

The right hon. baronet has not said a great deal upon the particular provisions of this bill, but enough to give the House to understand, that he disapproves of this plan, as indeed he has disapproved of every plan of reform that has been proposed for these ten years past; and this is an argument which has so much of the Proteus in its nature, that although it may have the appearance of throwing out something like a challenge, which would worse become me than any man in the House to make, I am tempted to endeavour to meet it by contending that plans of reform are not either numerous or innumerable, as the right hon. baronet seems to suppose, but that they may be all easily reducible to a very few heads; and I do believe, the right hon. mover of this bill has taken up the last and only remaining plan of reform, after setting aside those which are subject to irrefragable objections on the face of them, or which have already received the condemnation of this House.

I do not mean to say, that plans of reform, grounded on the right of universal suffrage, may not be innumerable, or that plans of reform which operate merely by regulations of residence and registry, may not be as various as the fancies that produce them; but to the latter of these, I think no recourse can be fairly had, not only because bills of that nature are more pro-

perly to be called election bills than bills of reform, but because they are liable to the greatest uncertainty in their operation in many instances, disfranchising where it was intended to give franchise, and because they partake so far of the obnoxious principle of personal suffrage, as they tend to separate the right of voting from the possession of property, and annex it to the personal conditions of residence and registry. But what I mean to say, is that any plan of reform that acts on the existing materials afforded by the constitution, considering the representation as consisting of distinct parts, the borough and the county representation; if it proposes to make a real and substantial alteration in the distribution of power between these different parts, can only operate in one or two ways. Our representation being a distribution of power exercised through the medium of numbers, can be altered only by adding a greater number of representatives to that branch of the representation where the elective basis is already sufficiently extended; or by increasing the number of electors in that branch where the representatives are already sufficiently numerous. On the first principle was founded the plan of the late Lord Chatham, for adding to the number of the knights of the shire, which also forms a part of the right hon. gentleman's [Mr. Ponsonby] bill; but he could not rely upon this provision only, because, in order to render it effectual, it would be necessary either to make an alarming encrease of the number of this House, or else to disfranchise a sufficient number of boroughs, to make room for the additional county members to be introduced. What then remained to the right hon. gentleman but to encrease the number of electors in boroughs, without disfranchising those who already claim a right of voting; a plan, which if he had carried it as far as it is capable of being extended, so as instead of taking in the adjoining district, to take in the whole of the county, would, in my opinion, stand clear of every objection, and unite every advantage to be found in any of those bills which have hitherto been proposed to this House.

But the principal objection of the right hon. baronet to the present bill is, that the additional voters who are to be taken into the different boroughs, being to be found among the tenants of the adjoining districts, this bill can only effectuate a transfer of influence from the present proprietors of boroughs to the respective landlords of the adjoining districts; in my thinking, Sir, the operation of the bill will be widely different, it will essentially change the nature of the influence to be hereafter exerted in boroughs into what hands soever it may fall. It is easy to put a case where no transfer of influence from one hand to another can possibly be supposed to happen; I mean where the estate of the present proprietor should extend over the whole of the district to be taken in, and yet in such a case could it be contended, that

no change would be made in the nature of the influence? Is there no difference between that influence which is exerted by an individual over a limited and select body of men, and the influence of a landlord over a large and extended tenantry? they differ most materially in two points, they must be differently acquired, they must be differently used; the first, is the influence of wealth or power, operating directly upon a small body of men; the second can only be the effect of that general good character, those general acts of benevolence and kindness which are the natural result of the situation of a great landlord, and of the happiest condition in which man can stand, where every virtuous act is a wise one.

A small number of voters may consider themselves as trustees for the patron, and their voices may be sold for his benefit, but an extended tenantry will consider that they have rights of their own, and will at least require to have some acquaintance with the candidate to be elected, as well as with the person who proposes him; when this is brought about, then will very properly follow the oath against bribery, which makes part of the present bill, to be administered to the member previous to his taking his seat, an oath which has been advisedly omitted in every plan of reform hitherto presented to this House, and wisely, I think omitted, but wisely only, because when we adopt one false principle, it may be afterwards necessary to yield to its consequences.

Now Sir, if we are really afraid to extend the elective franchise to those persons to whom the present bill proposes to extend it, our situation is lamentable, is desperate indeed; because in a time of profound peace, we are afraid to trust those who in a time of commotion must be our best, our only defenders. But Sir, while we are too strong for the seditious in this country, if we betray an unreasonable fear of them, it must be suspected that we only make a pretence of our fears, to withhold the just rights of men of a very different description, and to make ourselves too strong for those over whom we ought to seek for no domination. I dislike the cry of fear, because it has been the cry of tyrants since the beginning of the world. Tiberius was in perpetual alarm; Henry the Eighth was ever surrounded with plots and assassination, the proud dominion of the church in its proudest day, when it trod on the necks of kings and lifted its head against heaven itself, was never free from salutary danger. I dislike the cry of fear, when I find it attempted to be raised by the weak against the strong, but when I find the strong cry out fear against the weak, I always know it is the prelude to some grand injustice; for never was any system of oppression long conducted in the world without setting up for itself

some grim idol of terror, an object expressed by some frightful indefinite word that can mean at the same time, every thing, any thing, or nothing; as best suits the purposes of those who use it. Malignancy was the word in England in forty-one, aristocracy is the word in France in ninety-four. I hope the cry of sedition does not answer, I will not say such a purpose, but a very bad purpose in this country. For though, Sir, a picture of the follies or crimes of our own country would present only an image of the innocent play of children, in comparison of the ghastly scenes that are passing there; yet,

I think, we shall shew our abhorrence of the principles of that devoted kingdom, more honestly, more nobly, and more unequivocally, by throwing from our hands the weapons of oppression she has used, than by imitating in the slightest degree any part of that policy by which her rulers have been enabled to stifle the voice of a real majority of the property of the country.

Mr. TIGHE, jun. said, he wished to express to the House his sentiments on this great question. He considered it incumbent on every gentleman to declare his sentiments openly; that if he voted against reform he might be seen to do so, and if the contrary, it might be made apparent to the public. He said, he would vote for every reform tending to repress the great and increasing influence of the crown in that House, and to prevent the selling of seats. Though he approved in general of the present bill, he yet thought there were objectionable parts, which in a committee might be rectified; and as the public at large have been long in expectation of such a measure as that proposed, he thought it would be proper to make a timely concession to the popular wish. When the people's wishes become demands, who, he asked, will then have courage to refuse? The right hon. baronet on the other side of the House has objected to the measure of reform on account of the time; but every time will be objected to by those interested in the contrary. No man, he said, venerated the basis of the constitution more than he did; he believed it to be the best system of human policy ever devised. He would support only such a plan of reform as went to the correction of its abuses, but would always oppose any plan not founded on its principles.

We were at present, he said, engaged in a dangerous and calamitous war; a war which he thought unnecessary. A great part of the people had displayed symptoms of discontent at its continuance, and more were likely to become discontented from its consequence, so that the present was, in his mind, a time peculiarly adapted for reform. No such danger is to be apprehended from the measure, as that predicted by the right hon. baronet. We have a constitution in which it is only necessary to rec-

tify abuses; not like France, which previous to its revolution had none, and whose fabric of government depended for support on the power of fleeting ministers. It was by opposing moderate reforms when they might have taken place, that the old government of France was destroyed, and that anarchy produced which followed the first National Assembly. As to the argument of the right hon. baronet on the ground of innovation, King John might have done the same to his barons; the same objection might be made to the *Habeas Corpus* act, and that for rendering the judges independent of the crown, and of every other alteration which went to the melioration of old establishments. Many innovations have taken place in this country of late years; will any one say that they have been prejudicial? In sustaining the fabric of our constitution, it has often become necessary to refer to original principles. It was in the reign of Edward III. that commercial towns were first ordered to return representatives to parliament; but this salutary innovation afterwards became abused, by extending the elective franchise to small villages for ministerial influence, and this influence it is necessary to curtail. No man should be allowed to exercise the elective franchise, who could not give an independent vote, and every man who could give an independent vote should be in possession of that privilege. The ministerial influence was, he said, too great in that House, and ought to be diminished; and although some say this influence is attended with no bad effect, he considered that it would be ultimately destructive of the liberty of the constitution; it would unite the legislative with the executive power, and then the liberties of the people would be effectually destroyed. He here took notice of the prevailing practice of selling boroughs, and trafficking the honours of the peerage, for the purpose of corrupt returns to the House of Commons; and said, although the present members might be very good, they could not answer for those who would succeed them. The outward form of the constitution was nothing, if we had lost its original principles and essence. The senate of Rome existed under the tyranny of the emperors; but they were the abject slaves of military despotism. Formerly parliaments were overawed by kings, but now they are corrupted by ministerial influence. The present case is so much the worse than the former, as the assassin who stabs in the dark, is worse than the open and manly opponent. By the present system, he observed, all responsibility of ministers is taken away, as they can at all times command a majority to support them in any thing. It was formerly the custom to carry up to the throne the grievances of the people along with the money bills; now, the grievances of the people are adjourned to the first of August! The parliament of this country had, he observed, lost their con-

sequence in the minds of the public. They, last year, conferred great benefits on the Roman Catholics; and yet this body of people, in whom gratitude for recent concessions might be supposed to stifle every kind of murmur and complaint, have publicly declared by their convention, that parliamentary reform is necessary. One of the greatest proofs of the necessity of reform was, he said, that corrupt judges were not called before the bar of the House for exceeding their powers. He said, he considered the present situation of Europe peculiarly unfavourable to liberty, and took a general view of the conduct of the coalesced powers against Poland and France, and the criminal negligence and duplicity of the British ministers in continental politics.

Mr. Tighe concluded a long and argumentative speech, with declaring, that he was sure a reform of parliament would soon take place, and he wished it might be at a time when it could be done uninfluenced by terror, and when the public might be convinced, that the concession was not extorted from the legislature by faction and menace.

Sir LAURENCE PARSONS said, that he did not wish on this great subject of reform to give a silent vote, though he did not believe, that any thing could be said that night, on the one side, which would make the people less desirous to obtain it; or on the other, that would make a majority of the House more willing to adopt it. His object, therefore, principally was to make some observations upon the constitution of this country, which might have some operation another day. It might be deemed, he said, presumptuous in him, to say, what was the best form of constitution, since forms might be so various; and many very good, as well as many very bad: but having long and anxiously thought on this subject, the English constitution, if purified from its adulterations, appeared to him to be the best, that the wisdom of man had ever constructed: it had stood for many centuries, receiving from time to time such repairs, as were suited to its decays; and while almost all the rest of Europe was sunk in ignominious thralldom, it had upheld the liberties of the English people. I have read, says he, the modern declaimers against this constitution; and I have found no weight in any of their objections, but one; that is *the expence*: and this originates in the parliament: How? You know yourselves. I do not believe those libellers of our constitution, who say that corruption is necessary to it. It was unknown in England at the revolution; it was infused into it by Sir R. Walpole: and as the constitution existed for centuries before it, why may it not exist for centuries after its eradication? There are some, I know, who would represent corruption as a vital of the constitution, instead

of being, as it is, its bane, and its mortality. There are insects, who only live in putridity; who feast on whatever is morbid; who do not regard the constitution as a blessing, but as a prey; who in proportion as it decays and mortifies, increase, and engender in it and spread over its surface; and who, if it were once made sound, would drop of, and be heard of no more. These, I know, will object to any remedy to recover and restore it, but every man, who loves his country, and loves virtue, liberty and truth, will be every day more and more convinced of the utility of some such emendation, as you are now considering. I say, that corruption is not necessary to our constitution. I therefore say, that inordinate expence is not necessary. Some recent writers have inveighed against the expences of royalty: but what are they? the expences of an English king are not much greater than of an English nobleman, or an English nabob. They are little to the great nation of England: and to this, when we have only the simular of a king, they are still less. It is not the prince in our constitution, nor is it the viceroy, who consumes the wealth of the people; but it is the representatives of the people. The stipendiary member must have his stipendiary followers; and the corruption which takes root in the parliament, spreads innumerable ramifications over the whole island. Thus plunder countenances plunder; and every great plunderer is supported and abetted by all the little plunderers beneath; and then they tell you, that all this is necessary: but I say, that it is a blasphemy against our constitution to say so. Take away the temptations to be corrupt, and men will be virtuous. If not, as the House of Commons is now constituted, reform the constitution of it. Let it be composed of independent country gentlemen for the counties; and respectable citizens for the great towns; and I would stake my existence on it, that such men would not impede any capable minister in good measures; and the more, that they would impede him in bad ones, the better. Look at America, and see how the constitution there harmonizes and operates without a bribe; and who will defame the gentlemen of this country, and say, that they would not act as honestly. Our constitution, in my opinion, is much wiser in theory, than the American, and might be made as virtuous in practice. It might be as virtuous, because it was so for centuries in England; and because the gentlemen of this country, if not poisoned by example and temptation, would be as virtuous as any on earth. It is their nature to be so. They are not born an avaricious, griping, plundering gentry, but the very reverse; noble, generous, and independent: and it is only the most vile government, that makes any of them otherwise. It is the despicable panders of an external administration, who come over here, and blow upon their characters; and tamper

with them, and taint them; and then, when they go back to England, stigmatize them for the very taint, which they themselves had given; until they have made the name of the Irish parliament almost a synonymy for corruption. I say then, that our constitution might be as pure in practice, as the American, or any other: and I add, that I think it much better in theory; and for this reason: the three estates of our constitution, are more independent of each other. The frailty of man, the appetite for power, and the abuses of it, require reciprocal checks and controls. In our constitution then, that the crown and the peers are more independent by being hereditary, than if they were elective, every one must see: and that they are more likely to control, by being independent, than if they were not so, every one must see also. In these two estates then, I think that our constitution is much better than the American; and a reform would make it as good in the third; that is, it would make the third more independent of the other two; and more dependent on the people, as it ought to be. The advantages then of a wise reform are these: your parliament would be more virtuous; your government more cheap; your House of Commons more broadly founded on the people; and the three estates of your constitution more equally poised against each other. To adjust this would require deep and solid wisdom. No metaphysics: no scholastic subtleties: no abstract refinements upon rights, which are treacherous and bewildering. In short, the simple consideration seems to be this, *how you are most likely to extract out of the mass of the people 300 honest and capable representatives, who shall know what is best for the people, and will do it.* The distemper of the times is, that most men consider, how they shall get political power; not how they shall get good government: whereas, political power is honestly no object, but as it gives good government; that is, it is only the means; good government is the end: and modern theorists refining too much on the means, often lose sight of the end. Thus some men argue, that every man should have a vote; not considering, that to obtain good representatives, the franchise may be too much extended, as well as too much contracted. They argue as if the primary object was the right of the voter, not the selection of the representative. But, in my opinion, was suffrage made universal, tumult, corruption, and aristocratic influence would over-rule almost every election, and honest worth could seldom rear its head. Speculists may talk of the right of the many; but the true consideration is the good of the many; and that is, to dispose the franchise so, that it will produce the best representatives. This is what the wise legislator will do; instead of spinning these refined theories, which like Arachne's web, have no strength or substance for the use of man. A right

hon. baronet has said, that this is not the time to introduce this subject. Why? Are we furiously occupied, that we cannot attend to it? I wish to know from the hon. baronet, what else we have to do? When we speak of the war, and move for papers relative to it, we are told, that we ought not to discuss that subject; we ought to leave it to England. When a motion is made for an equalization of duties, we are told, that it is no time to discuss that subject; we shall irritate England. And now, when a reform which purely relates to this country, and in which England is no way implicated, is proposed, we are told, that it is no time to discuss this also. In short, it is a time for servile acquiescence; for ignominious silence; for taxing the people; for voting supplies; and for nothing else! Grievances and supplies used to go hand in hand: this was the honest, antiquated doctrine of our ancestors. Where has that spirit fled, which used to animate the representatives of the people? What shall we say, that we have been doing, when we go back to our representatives?—I ask pardon, I forgot—A majority of this House never go back to their representatives: they do not know them: they do not live among them: many of them never saw them: no, nor even the places that they represent. What a mockery is this of representation? Do you think, that in this enlightened age, such an imposture can long continue? Impossible. When the Americans were deliberating on their new constitution, if any one had got up among them, and had proposed such an institution as our present borough representation, and had said, there is a certain ruin in Virginia; let it send two representatives, to be named by any twelve persons Mr. Washington shall appoint: and there is a certain tree in Pennsylvania; let it send two representatives, to be named by any twelve persons Mr. Franklin shall appoint, and so on.—Would not the man have been deemed mad, who had made such a proposition. An institution then, which any rational set of men upon earth, would deem a man mad for having proposed, can it be found sense in you to retain? But the antiquity of the institution, it will be said, sanctions it with us. Now antiquity may be a good reason for retaining what is indifferent, and of no consequence: but what is not indifferent, but of the greatest moment, its antiquity should have no weight with you: if it be good, retain it for that reason: if it be bad, for that reason discard it. This is the only plain sense in such considerations. But antiquity never authorized a place which could have no constituents to send representatives. Our ancestors were not so absurd. Wealth and population originally chose representatives: and close boroughs did not originate in our ancient constitution, but in subsequent perversions of it: in the decays of time, and the abuses of prerogative. It is not then to change your ancient constitution,

that you are now called upon, but to restore it. Let me now, before I conclude, recommend peace and temperance to the people. They may be assured, that they must, and soon, succeed in the attainment of this measure, as they have done in the attainment of every other that they have desired. Most men remember when our parliament was perpetual: when the English parliament was supreme, and legislated for us: when the privy council was co-ordinate with the two Houses: when, in short, we had only a most perverted constitution, and a surreptitious trade. What has changed our situation? The power of the people wisely and temperately applied. And what should they learn from this? That there is nothing reasonable, that they desire, that they may not peaceably obtain, and through the medium of parliament. If they fail to-day in obtaining a temperate amendment of the constitution, they may be assured, that they must succeed another, and not a very distant day. Let them only await events in peace. Peace should be the council on every man's lips. It is, in my mind, what we should recommend to the throne, and what we should recommend to the people: foreign and domestic peace. But since the ministry and parliament have determined to persist in the war, let every one endeavour to preserve tranquillity at home, and await the issue of this great argument of arms. It must have some effect on our constitution. The speech from the throne has truly intimated this. But if it would have one effect in case of victory: it may have another, an opposite one in case of defeat. Those who go to war, must risk all the consequences of war: the consequences of failure, as well as those of success. Our constitution before this war terminates may have a hard struggle; and we should endeavour to make it in time as sound and robust as we can. It is the gentlemen of power and property in the country that are its sinews, and any reform, which would introduce more of them into its system, in the place of the feeble tendons of decayed boroughs, would render it more athletic, and more able to withstand any concussion.

Mr. BARRINGTON said, he could not admit that by voting an enquiry into the state of representation, the House had committed themselves to adopt any alteration in the practice of the constitution. He confessed he had heard the voice of obscure individuals, and the clamour of disaffected societies, calling for various, contradictory and repugnant systems of innovation; but he also had heard the voice of public reason, of public prudence, and of public safety, invincibly arguing on the other hand. An hon. member who supported the bill, had urged the strongest arguments against it, namely, that no one body in the country, corporate or incorporate—no society of loyal subjects—no requi-

sition of freeholders to their sheriff—no petitions of the people to their Parliament, had given colour to the adoption of this measure. Why then did we seek it? It must be either with a political or a commercial view. The present political situation of this country could be best judged by comparing it with the past, for many years, particularly the last twelve, in a rapid state of progressive improvement, both in constitution and commerce: In 1779, from a parliament delegated as the present, it received the renovation of its constitution; it received the freedom of its legislature; the extension of its commercial system; the pride of independence, and the hopes of every thing: In 1793, a Parliament so delegated, pursued the same system. Government clipped her own wings; she granted a place bill, a pension bill, a responsibility bill; she surrendered the hereditary revenue of the Crown; she emancipated the Catholics; she went at least as far as prudence or the times would admit her: why then is this Parliament thus acting, though thus delegated, held up as a sample of inadequacy? could any parliament, preserving the connection with Great Britain, have done more?—though pleased with the procedure of your Parliament, you reprobated the practices which produced it; and discarding the substance, you rush to embrace the shadow! But does this country, taking it in a commercial view, call for this measure? Is extending the debaucheries of election essential to the success of the manufacturer? Or, will the character of a fluctuating constitution tend to increase the commercial credit of the nation? We are only a limb of the empire, and owe some consideration to the great body with which we are connected. Let not Ireland introduce the first symptoms of a disorder which may destroy the whole: We have heretofore scudded before a happy gale, we are now moored amidst a hurricane; let us not now weigh the anchor of the constitution in search of untried shores; if we let her drift from her moorings, she may feel the rock before she finds the navigation.—But though the measure might seem necessary, the consequences would be destructive, and the remedy proposed utterly inadequate to the disease. It is proposed to gratify the people, but this measure does either too much or too little, or it is nugatory; if it only extends franchise to property, it falls far short of either the wishes or expectations of those you mean to gratify—the mass of the people—extending to property what you deny to persons, will irritate the many against the few, and, instead of calming, rouse the spirit you wish to suppress. Such a measure could only palpably separate in the middle ranks, and it is not the middle ranks who are impatient for the acquisition, or whose impatience could be formidable.—If you suppose it could gratify the lower orders of the people, you are mistaken; that glorious society of reformists, the enemy

of the Crown, the incendiary of the people, and the disgrace of Ireland, can alone prepare plans of popular constitutions, generated in gaols and alehouses, and published to the country.—They are issued as writs to summon insurrection and disobedience to the laws.—Doctors without practice, merchants without credit, foolish gentlemen, mad printers, and bullies without spirit, all united in one common cause, call for a personal representation; the common executioner of majesty, religion, property and civilization. If your measure means this, I believe it is rather too much; and if it goes only to a small extension of franchise, in this present cause it is nugatory; it is innovation without effect; a meer transfer of influence, without an extension of freedom.

A great character of this country, (who is now no more, but whose information was equal to his talents, and his talents equal to difficulties) proposed a bill for reform in a sister country. Both sides of the British parliament feared for their old forms; they shuddered at innovation, they unanimously confessed its pre-excellence, but refused its adoption.

He did not, by mentioning this great character, mean to tear laurels from the brow of the living to wreath them round the bust of the dead. He saw, with gratification, the flowers of public virtue, which, scorched by the rays of political party, for some time seemed to droop and wither on their stems, again resume a rich and luxuriant vegetation. Political prudence and public discretion, shooting forward at a trying time and difficult moment, call for public approbation.—It is equally gratifying, to hold the mirror up to nature, to shew vice its own image, or virtue her own likeness. It had been asserted, that though the constitution worked well, its very spirit existed in recurring to original principles, and amending the practice; but practice never can be so pure as theory, and the errors complained of have not crept into, but originated with, the truest form of government.

Was Ireland at any former period represented in any mode more favourable to the liberties of the people? Whatever change has taken place in the practice of the representation, has in fact been a gradual transfer of influence from the Crown to the landed interests of the country. When the boroughs arose from the charters of James I. this influence, purposely created and solely exercised by the Crown, is now exercised by the leading and landed interests of the country, and those interests at this moment form a formidable equipoise to the power of the Crown. For experience evinces that the diversity of views incident to leading interests, constantly create a diversity of measures checking both the Crown and each other; and effectually obstructing any system inimical to the real interests of the peo-

ple; not that this is the true spirit or theory of the constitution, but it has ever been the practice; and as it has worked well, it should not be changed without a certainty of amendment; if that certainty of amendment should appear, and at a time when innovation would not be dangerous, it might be difficult to argue against it; but the present bill in point of substance would be utterly inoperative, and in point of time critically dangerous; it would strengthen the aristocracies which it professed to suppress, and urge on innovation whilst it only professed to amend, but instead of amending it rather looked like cobbling the constitution; putting a new patch upon an old garment, neither adapted to its texture, its colour, or its strength, tending to expose, not conceal, our nakedness; not to close but to rend the breach the wider. The genius of rational liberty hovers round us, let us not disgust her by experiment, or she may clap her wings and depart this country for ever. He said, the obvious wish of the House to end the debate, induced him, at so late an hour, to relinquish a systematic investigation of the subject, and a special reply to the arguments by which it was supported, yet he could not help observing, that the great talents and ability which supported the measure, never could have had the opportunity of doing so, had such a system taken effect previous to their election, and that he did not see in the general retrospect of public questions, that more public virtue was exercised by gentlemen arising from very popular delegations, than by those whose elections more confined, had given ground for the present argument. There appears no necessity for innovating, but there is danger in it.—Parliament has done its duty by the people, the king, and the constitution; but plunge into the labyrinth, there is no clue to return by.

Mr. B. CONYNGHAM thought the bill went to transfer the representation of the commercial interest to the landed property, which was certainly not the principle of the constitution. He thought it was unadvisable to agitate the question at all, because if the House should not think proper to go the lengths which the people wished, then they would be irritated by disappointment.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER spoke against the bill. He vindicated the House from the charge of inconsistency; for, last year they had only bound themselves to enquire, they had done so, but he would not agree in consequence of that enquiry to impeach the present state of the representation, as the bill did, till a better plan should be offered. To adopt this plan would be to open a door to innovation, and not to satisfy;—the House had not omnipotence, they could not create a re-

forming spirit, and then say, "Hitherto shalt thou go, and no farther."

He said, that to agree to systems of reform now, would have the appearance of countenancing French principles in act, while they were reprobating them in words. It was wisdom, he said, either to grant every thing at once to the people, or to keep things as they were.—Temporizing experiments were dangerous.

Mr. CURRAN ridiculed some of the abuses in the representation, and placed in a most ludicrous point of view the wretched representative who is returned to the House of Commons by the king's writ of *capias ad satisfaciendum*, instead of the sheriff's writ of election, and who comes into the House to represent only himself, his wants, and his creditors.

Mr. L. Fox opposed the bill, on the ground that property was not the only thing which by the spirit of the constitution should be represented. The ability and the information of the people should be represented also, and these would be totally excluded from the House by such a reform as that proposed, which would convert the House of Commons into an assembly of mere landholders.

At twelve o'clock a division took place, on the motion of Sir HERCULES LANGRISHE, that the bill be read a second time on the first of August.

Ayes,	—	142
Noes,	—	44
Majority		98

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER presented a bill for securing the payment of the annuities and of the interest upon the principal sums therein provided for, and towards the discharge of such principal sums in such manner as therein is directed, and for enabling the officers of his Majesty's treasury to receive certain sums for a limited time in manner therein-mentioned, and for granting unto his Majesty a certain sum of money out of the consolidated fund, and for applying a certain sum of money therein-mentioned for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and for other purposes therein-mentioned; which was received and read the first time.

He also presented a bill for enabling the Lord High Chancellor of Ireland and the Court of Exchequer respectively, to make orders on the governor and company on the bank of Ireland, for

payment out of the general fund of monies belonging to the suitors of the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer, of the further sum therein-mentioned, towards building the principal courts of justice at Dublin and law offices; for declaring that all government securities purchased by the governor and directors of the said bank, and profits arising therefrom, should be placed to the account of the governor and company of the said bank; and for enabling the commissioners of his Majesty's treasury to sell and dispose of the grounds and buildings lately used as his Majesty's Custom-house in Dublin, and the grounds and buildings now used for his Majesty's said courts, in manner therein-mentioned; which was received and read the first time.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5, 1794.

Mr. BERESFORD presented a bill for continuing and amending the several laws relating to his Majesty's revenue, and for the more effectually preventing frauds therein, and for regulating and extending the tobacco trade of this kingdom; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. MASON reported from the committee of ways of means, the following resolutions:

1. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty for payment of the charges of government and other services for one year, to the 25th of March, 1795, a sum of 900,000*l.* to be raised by loan or debentures.

2. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that towards raising the said supply, a sum of 90,750*l.* and a farther sum of 38,900*l.* making together the sum of 129,650*l.* be raised by loan, to pay a sum heretofore borrowed upon treasury bills, and payable on the 24th day of June, 1794.

3. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that for raising the said sums of 900,000*l.* and 129,650*l.* the same may be borrowed on loan by debentures to carry interest not exceeding the rate of five pounds per centum, per annum, aided by an annuity of one pound per centum, for a term not exceeding fifteen years, or by debentures to carry an interest not exceeding the rate of four pounds per centum, per annum, aided by an annuity of one pound per centum, for a term not exceeding fifty years; the interest thereof and the said annuities to be paid in Great Britain or Ireland, as may be agreed upon by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom, or by debentures

to carry an interest not exceeding five pounds per centum, per annum, with a lottery in aid thereof.

4. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that a lottery be established to consist of forty thousand tickets at five pounds per ticket, upon such scheme or schemes of prizes, with such further and other regulations, powers and provisions necessary for carrying the same into execution, as shall be appointed and directed by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom, and that the tickets therein be disposed of either in aid of the said loan or towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, as shall be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant.

5. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that towards raising the said supply, the duties following shall be paid for and upon the several hides and skins herein after expressed or mentioned, and all parts of pieces thereof, which shall be tanned or dressed within this kingdom from and after the 29th day of September, 1794, until the 25th day of March, 1795, that is to say,

	£.	s.	d.
For and upon all hides of horses, mares or geldings, the hide	0	1	0
For and upon all skins called veal skins, kips and runners, and upon all skins of hogs, pigs and fows, the dozen skins	0	5	0
For and upon all skins for shoes and other like purposes, and on all seal skins, the dozen	0	2	6
For and upon all skins for book-binders use, the dozen	0	1	0
And so in proportion for any greater or lesser number			
For and upon all hides and skins, of what kind or denomination whatsoever, not herein enumerated or described, and all parts or pieces thereof, for every pound weight Avoirdupoise	0	0	1

6. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that towards raising the said supply, the duties respectively set forth in the said schedule hereunto annexed, shall be paid upon all hides and skins, and all parts and pieces thereof, which shall be imported into this kingdom from the 25th day of March, 1794, to the 25th day of March, 1795, inclusive, in lieu and full satisfaction of all other duties now payable thereon.

7. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that towards raising the said supply, the duties respectively set forth in the said schedule shall be paid upon all leather worked up into any manufactures, or any manufacture whereof leather is the

most valuable part, which shall be imported into this kingdom from the 25th day of March, 1794, to the 25th day of March, 1795, inclusive, in lieu and full satisfaction of all other duties now payable thereon.

Which resolutions were severally agreed to.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER then presented a bill for granting to his Majesty the duties therein-mentioned upon hides and skins and manufactures of leather; which was received and read the first time.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL presented a bill for the repeal of an act made in the ninth year of Queen Anne, entitled, an act to prevent the maiming of cattle; and also for the repeal of another act made in the second year of his late Majesty King George I. entitled, an act for making more effectual an act, entitled, an act to prevent the maiming of cattle; and also for the repeal of so much of certain clauses in certain other acts of parliament as is therein-mentioned, and to prevent the malicious killing, maiming and wounding of cattle; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. DAY presented a bill for ascertaining the fees payable by such Roman Catholics as qualify; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. MASON presented a bill for continuing the several laws relating to licenses for the sale of spirituous liquors, and the regulations for remedying the abuses which have arisen from the immoderate use of such liquors; which was received and read the first time.

THURSDAY, MARCH 6, 1794.

A bill for continuing an act passed last session of parliament, entitled, an act for establishing regulations respecting aliens arriving in this kingdom, or resident therein, in certain cases, and subjects of this kingdom who have served or are serving in foreign armies; and for continuing another act passed in the same session of parliament, entitled, an act to prevent the importation of arms, gunpowder and ammunition into this kingdom, and the removing and keeping of gunpowder, arms and ammunition, without license; was read a third time and passed.

As also, an engrossed bill to explain and amend an act passed in the twenty-ninth year of his present Majesty, entitled, an

act for the better supplying the inhabitants of certain cities and towns with water.

Dr. ARTHUR BROWNE presented a bill to reduce the time of confinement of prisoners for small debts; which was read a first time.

FRIDAY, MARCH 7, 1794.

The bill for the improvement of the town and harbour of Wexford, and building a bridge over the river Slaney: As also, the bill for reviving and continuing temporary statutes; were severally read a third time, and passed.

Mr. JAMES STEWART presented a bill to prevent the inconveniences which may arise during the vacancy of the office of treasurer of a county; which was read a first time.

Mr. HAYES presented a bill for directing the application of 5,500*l.* granted to the Dublin Society; which was read a first time.

Mr. BARRINGTON presented a bill to render more effectual the pawnbroker's act, which was read a first time.

Mr. BOYD presented a bill for the better regulation of juries; which was read a first time.

SATURDAY, MARCH 8, 1794.

Mr. COOKE presented a bill for the pay and cloathing of the militia for one year, &c. which was read a first time.

Mr. FORBES presented a bill for the better auditing public accounts, and providing that the commissioners of imprest accounts should hold their offices during good behaviour; which was read a first time.

Mr. VANDELEUR presented a bill for the same purposes respecting the commissioners of appeal; which was read a first time.

MONDAY, MARCH 10, 1794.

The following bills were read a third time, and passed :

A bill for securing the payment of the annuities, and for the interest upon the principal sums therein provided for, and towards the discharge of such principal sum in such manner as therein is directed, and for enabling the officers of his Majesty's treasury to receive certain sums for a limited time in manner therein-mentioned ; and for granting unto his Majesty a certain sum of money therein-mentioned, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and for other purposes.

A bill for securing a capital stock belonging to the members of the Irish musical fund, applicable to charitable purposes.

TUESDAY, MARCH 11, 1794.

The following bills were read a third time, and passed :

A bill for granting to his Majesty the duties therein-mentioned upon hides and skins, and manufacture of leather.

A bill for enabling the Lord High Chancellor of Ireland and the Court of Exchequer respectively, to make orders on the governor and company of the bank of Ireland, for payment out of the general fund of monies belonging to the suitors of the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer, of the further sum therein-mentioned, towards building the principal courts of justice at Dublin and law offices ; for declaring that all government securities purchased by the governor and directors of the said bank, and profits arising therefrom, should be placed to the account of the governor and company of the said bank.

A bill for the reducing the time of the imprisonment of debtors committed to prison for small debts upon prosecutions in the Court of Conscience of the city of Dublin.

A bill for a more effectual redress in cases of fraudulent or damaged linens, and for enforcing county inspectors to an effectual execution of their duty, and otherwise promoting the linen and hempen manufactures.

A bill for preventing money or effects in the hands of his Majesty's subjects belonging to or disposible by persons resident in France, being applied to the use of the persons exercising the

powers of government in France, and for preserving the property thereof for the benefit of the individual owners thereof; and

A bill to prevent the inconveniencies which may arise during the vacancy of the office of treasurer of a county.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 12, 1794.

The following bills were read a third time, and passed :

A bill for continuing the several laws relating to licenses for the sale of spirituous liquors, and the regulations for remedying the abuses which have arisen from the immoderate use of such liquors.

A bill for continuing and amending the several laws relating to his Majesty's revenue, and for more effectually preventing frauds therein, and for regulating and extending the tobacco trade of this kingdom.

A bill for defraying the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia for one year, from the twenty-fifth of March one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and for the more easily raising the same.

A bill to explain, amend and render more effectual, an act passed in the thirty-third year of his present Majesty's reign, entitled, an act for the relief of insolvent debtors, in regard to the imprisonment of their persons.

A bill for directing the application of the sum of five thousand five hundred pounds granted by Parliament to the Dublin Society, for the improvement of husbandry and other useful arts, and for the more effectual recovery of such money as appears due to said society and to the Royal Irish Academy, and for enabling the Incorporated Society to elect their officers and members of the committee of fifteen, on the first Wednesday in February in every year.

A bill for ascertaining the fees payable by such Roman Catholics as qualify ; and

A bill to amend and render more effectual, an act passed in the twenty-sixth, and an amendment of said act passed in the twenty-eighth years of his present Majesty's reign, entitled, an act to establish the business of a pawnbroker, and to authorize such persons as shall be duly qualified to carry on the same, to lend money on pledges, and to receive interest at a higher rate than heretofore was recoverable by law.

THURSDAY, MARCH 13, 1794.

The following bill was read a third time, and passed.

A bill for preventing the graving and careening ships, gab-bards or boats, and to prevent fires from being kept on board any ship, gabbard or boat, between the bridge commonly called Bloody-bridge, and the river called Dodder, alias Donnybrook, in the river Anna Liffey, in the city of Dublin.

FRIDAY, MARCH 14, 1794.

A motion was made, and the question being put, that it appears to this House, that on the 25th of March, 1791, the Royal Canal Company presented a petition to the House of Commons, engaging to construct floating and graving docks within a certain time and under certain conditions, upon receiving the sum of 23,000*l.*; that in consequence of said petition, an act passed in the thirty-second year of his Majesty's reign, granting said sum to the company, for making, completing, and finishing the floating and graving docks aforesaid; and that in consequence thereof, debentures to the amount of 7500*l.* part of said sum of 23,000*l.* were issued from the treasury, payable to the undertakers of said docks; that it appears upon the inspection of the corporation book, (folio 338) that on the 26th of June, 1793, the members of said corporation were severally summoned to meet on the 10th of July following, for the purpose of reconsidering the subject of the docks, and for the consideration of the general concerns of the corporation; that on said 10th of July, 1793, said corporation accordingly met, fifty-one members being present, and then did resolve to relinquish the said undertaking in the following words: "Resolved, that it is the opinion of the corporation, to stop all works respecting the graving and floating docks until the canal shall be completed so far as to have obtained the water of Lough Hoail, in the county of Westmeath, and to order a deputation of the company to notify to Government this resolution, with our desire of refunding the money issued to the company on the dock account when required, and an humble hope of being permitted to resume the undertaking at a future day, when the company shall be more capable of executing it, and when their funds shall permit;" and a committee of said corporation was appointed to notify the same to Government accordingly; that on the 23d day of July, 1793, Lord Hobart,

the then Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, did by letter desire the said sum of 7500*l.* should be returned into the treasury; that instead of money, which it had been resolved upon to return, debentures payable to the Royal Canal, and not debentures payable to the dock undertakers, or money, were returned to the treasury; that said canal debentures have been returned to the Royal Canal Company; that said docks cannot be completed within the time contracted for, namely, the first of November next; that a considerable part of the expenditure stated to have been made on the dock account, has been, and must have been expended for the Royal Canal, although no docks had ever been thought of; that it appears, that the expenditure of money from Dublin to Kilcock, according to the returns made to this House, amounts to 142,621*l.* 8*s.* 8½*d.*; that according to estimates delivered in to the committee of this House, on the third of this month, it will require to complete the said work to Kilcock, the sum of 41,186*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*; that in these estimates no compensation is made for the purchase of water, or for the injury done to the proprietors; that it appears by the said return, that the estimate of the expence from Dublin to Kilcock, is brought no farther down than to the thirty-first of December last, consequently, the expence between that time and the third of March instant, is not accounted for or included; that it appears that the general funds of the corporation, the parliamentary aid included, amounts to 200,000*l.* and that they are by their charter entitled to borrow on the credit of their own works, any further sums not exceeding the amount of their subscriptions actually expended thereon; that there is reason to apprehend, there will not be a sufficient supply of water for the docks until the canal reaches Lough Hoan, in the county of Westmeath; that supposing water could be sooner obtained, that the time was sufficient, and that the funds admitted of it, it appears that said docks, constructed according to the plan of Mr. Evans, the engineer, would be of no public use or benefit whatsoever; that it appears to this House, that said sum of 7500*l.* so issued to the company for making docks, ought to be returned into his Majesty's treasury.

It passed in the negative.

SATURDAY, MARCH 15, 1794.

After routine business, the House adjourned to 25th March.

TUESDAY, MARCH 25, 1794.

The thanks of the House were unanimously voted to the Right Hon. JOHN FOSTER, their Speaker, for his faithful and eminent services in the chair.

An address was ordered to be presented to the Lord Lieutenant, that he will be pleased to confer some high ecclesiastical preferment on the Reverend William Knox, chaplain to the House.

The Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod having summoned the House to attend his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant in the House of Peers; the Speaker with the members repaired thither, when the royal assent was given to the following bills :

1. An act for granting for one year the several duties therein-mentioned, in lieu of all other duties payable upon the several articles therein specified during said term, and for continuing the effect of the treaty of commerce and navigation signed at Versailles, on the twenty-sixth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, between his Majesty and the Most Christian King, and for regulating the trade between this kingdom and his Majesty's colonies, and for other purposes therein-mentioned.
2. An act for securing the payment of the annuities, and of the interest upon the principal sums therein provided for, and towards the discharge of such principal sums in such manner as there is directed, and for enabling the officers of his Majesty's treasury to remove certain sums for a limited time in manner therein-mentioned ; and for granting to his Majesty a certain sum of money out of the consolidated fund, and for applying a certain sum of money therein-mentioned, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and for other purposes.
3. An act for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, several duties therein-mentioned, to be levied by the commissioners for managing the stamp duties.
4. An act for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, certain duties and rates upon the portage and conveyance of of all letters and packets within this kingdom.
5. An act for granting to his Majesty for one year, the duties therein-mentioned on fire-hearths, in lieu of all duties payable on the same prior to or during the said term.
6. An act for granting to his Majesty, the duties therein-mentioned upon hides and skins, and manufactures of leather.

7. An act for continuing the several laws relating to licenses for the sale of spirituous liquors, and the regulations for remedying the abuses which have arisen from the immoderate use of such liquors.

8. An act for defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia for one year, from the twenty-fifth day of March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and for the more easily raising the same.

9. An act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters within this kingdom.

10. An act for continuing and amending the several laws relating to his Majesty's revenue, and for the more effectually preventing frauds therein, and for regulating and extending the tobacco trade of this kingdom.

11. An act for further continuing an act, entitled, an act for facilitating the trade and intercourse between this kingdom and the United States of America.

12. An act for regulating the payment of bounties on the exportation of certain manufactures of this kingdom.

13. An act for directing the application of the sum of five thousand five hundred pounds, granted by Parliament to the Dublin Society for the improvement of husbandry and other useful arts, and for the more effectual recovery of such money as appears due to said Society, and to the Royal Irish Academy; and for enabling the Incorporated Society to elect their officers and members of the committee of fifteen, on the first Wednesday in February in every year.

14. An act for continuing an act passed last session of Parliament, entitled, an act for establishing regulations respecting aliens arriving in this kingdom, or resident therein in certain cases, and subjects of this kingdom who have served or are serving in foreign armies, and for continuing and amending another act passed in the same session of Parliament, entitled, an act to prevent the importation of arms, gunpowder and ammunition into this kingdom, and the removing and keeping of gunpowder, arms and ammunition, without license.

15. An act for preventing money or effects in the hands of his Majesty's subjects belonging to or disposable by persons resident in France, being applied to the use of the persons exercising the powers of government in France, and for preserving the property thereof, for the benefit of the individual owners thereof.

16. An act for reviving and continuing certain temporary statutes.

17. An act for a more effectual redress in cases of fraudulent or damaged linens, and for enforcing county inspectors to an effectual execution of their duty, and otherwise promoting the linen and hempen manufactures.

18. A bill for enabling the Lord High Chancellor of Ireland and the Court of Exchequer respectively, to make orders on the governor and company of the bank of Ireland, for payment out of the general fund of monies belonging to the suitors of the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer, of the further sum therein-mentioned, towards building the principal courts of justice at Dublin, and law offices; for declaring that all government securities purchased by the governor and directors of the said bank, and profits arising therefrom, should be placed to the account of the governor and company of the bank.

19. An act for reducing the time of the imprisonment of debtors committed to prison for small debts upon suits in the Court of Conscience of the city of Dublin.

20. An act to explain, amend and render more effectual, an act passed in the thirty-third year of his present Majesty's reign, entitled, an act for the relief of insolvent debtors in regard to the imprisonment of their persons.

21. An act to prevent the inconveniencies which may arise during the vacancy of the office of treasurer of a county.

22. An act for ascertaining the fees payable by such Roman Catholics as qualify.

23. An act for preventing the graving and careening ships, gabbards or boats, and to prevent fires from being kept on board any ship, gabbard or boat, between the bridge commonly called Bloody-bridge, and the river called Dodder, alias Donnybrook, in the river Anna Liffey, in the city of Dublin.

24. An act for the improvement of the town and harbour of Wexford, and for building a bridge or bridges over the river Slaney, at or near said town.

25. An act for securing a capital stock belonging to the members of the Irish Musical Fund applicable to charitable purposes.

26. An act to explain and amend an act passed in the twenty-ninth year of his present Majesty, entitled, an act for the better supplying the inhabitants of certain cities and towns with water.

And then his Excellency was pleased to make a speech to both Houses of Parliament, as follows :

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The important objects which engaged your attention being concluded, I am enabled to relieve you from further attendance in Parliament.

" I have his Majesty's commands to express his most entire satisfaction in the zeal and unanimity which have governed your proceedings during the present session, and the cheerfulness with which you have provided for the extraordinary emergencies of the state. This conduct, so honourable to yourselves, must essentially tend to preserve the internal tranquillity of your country, to maintain that free constitution under which they enjoy such inestimable blessings, and is highly beneficial to the general interests of the empire and to the common cause of Europe.

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I am directed by his Majesty to return you his thanks for the liberal supplies you have voted for the public service. You may rely on their faithful application to the purposes for which they were granted.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" His Majesty feels with the most cordial pleasure the loyalty of his people of Ireland, and the affectionate determination they have always shewn to stand or fall with Great Britain. In the contest, in which we are engaged by the unprovoked aggression of France, measures of the most vigorous nature continue to be requisite, and his Majesty will persevere in his exertions, in conjunction with his allies, against the common enemy. Under the Divine Providence, on the justice of his cause, on the disciplined valour of his fleets and armies, and the united efforts of all his subjects, his Majesty relies for a favourable issue to a war, which on the part of our enemies is waged against the envied liberty of these kingdoms, and the established government of every state in Europe.

" I applaud your wisdom in passing an act for preserving the property within this kingdom of persons resident in France, from becoming the plunder of those who have usurped the government of that unhappy country. It is peculiarly our duty to support the security of private property and to maintain the principles of justice, when doctrines have been advanced, and attempts endeavoured to be carried into execution, for the destruction of both.

“ I am sorry to inform you, that in some parts of the county of Cork, the people, deluded by the artifices of wicked and designing men, have assembled in numerous bodies, and have compelled many to take unlawful oaths. The timely exertions of the magistrates, aided by the spirited conduct of his Majesty's regular and militia forces, have nearly suppressed those disturbances. No attention shall be wanting on my part to the protection of the peaceable and industrious, and to the punishment of offenders against the law, and especially of those who have instigated the ignorant to the commission of such dangerous crimes.

“ The early conclusion of the session will enable you, in your respective counties, to enforce a due obedience to the laws, and to inculcate that spirit of loyalty to the King and attachment to our happy constitution, which has so eminently distinguished your conduct.

“ I am truly sensible of the repeated testimonies I have received of your confidence and support, for which I return you my most sincere thanks, and shall endeavour to ensure their continuance by employing every power with which I am invested for the maintenance of the public tranquillity and the advantage of this kingdom, and by faithfully representing to his Majesty your unremitting attention to the welfare of Ireland, and your unanimous exertions for the general cause of the empire.”

And then the Lord Chancellor declared, that it was his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Tuesday the twenty-seventh day of May next, and the Parliament was accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the twenty-seventh day of May next.



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